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John Chandler Bancroft.

HISTORY

OF THE

C O L O N I Z A T I O N

OF THE

UNITED STATES.



A. W. P. M.

HISTORY

OF THE

C O L O N I Z A T I O N

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

BY

GEORGE BANCROFT.

ABRIDGED BY THE AUTHOR.

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OF THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER XXVII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW NETHERLANDS.

THE spirit of the age was present when the foundations of New York were laid. Every great European event affected the fortunes of America. Did a state prosper, it sought an increase of wealth by plantations in the West. Was a sect persecuted, it escaped to the New World. The reformation, followed by collisions between English dissenters and the Anglican hierarchy, colonized New England; the reformation, emancipating the United Provinces, led to European settlements on the Hudson. The Netherlands divide with England the glory of having planted the first colonies in the United States; they also divide the glory of having set the examples of public freedom. If England gave our fathers the idea of a popular representation, Holland originated for them the principle of federal union.

In 1581, within two years of the union of Utrecht, Bath, an Englishman who had five times crossed the Atlantic, proposed to the States to conduct four ships-of-war to America. The adventure was declined by the government; but no obstacles were offered to private enterprise. Ten years afterwards, William

Wsselinx, who had lived some years in Castile, Portugal, and the Azores, proposed a West India company; but the dangers of the undertaking were still too appalling. It was not till 1597 that Bikker of Amsterdam, and Leyen of Enkhuisen, each succeeded in undertaking voyages to the New World; and, in 1600, after years of discussion, a plan for a West India company was reduced to writing, and communicated to the States General.

But, while the negotiations with Spain postponed the formation of a West India company, the Dutch found their way to the United States through another channel. The first efforts of the merchants of Holland to share in the commerce of Asia, were accompanied with a desire to search for a north-west passage; in quest of which the voyages of their mariners were esteemed without a parallel for their daring.

In 1607, after the repeated failure of the Dutch and the Danes, a company of London merchants, excited by the immense profits of voyages to the East, contributed the means for a new attempt; and HENRY HUDSON was the chosen leader of the expedition. Sailing to the north, with his only son for his companion, he coasted the shores of Greenland, and hesitated whether to attempt the circumnavigation of that country, or the passage across the pole. What though he came within eight degrees of the pole, thus surpassing every earlier navigator? After renewing the discovery of Spitzbergen, vast masses of ice compelled his return.

But the zeal of Hudson could not be quenched; and the next year beheld him once more on a voyage, cherishing the deceitful hope that through the seas which divide Spitzbergen from Nova Zembla he might find a path to Southern Asia.

The failure of two expeditions daunted the enterprise of Hudson's employers; they could not daunt the courage of the great navigator, who was destined to become the rival of Smith and of Champlain. He longed to tempt once more the dangers of the northern seas;

and, repairing to Holland, he offered, in the service of the Dutch East India company, to explore the icy wastes in search of the coveted passage. The voyage of Smith to Virginia stimulated desire; the Zealanders, fearing the loss of treasure, objected; but, by the influence of Balthazar Moucheron, the directors for Amsterdam resolved on equipping a small vessel of discovery; and, on the fourth day of April, 1609, *THE CRESCENT*, commanded by Hudson, and manned by a mixed crew of Englishmen and Hollanders, his son being of the number, set sail for the north-western passage.

Masses of ice impeded the navigation towards Nova Zembla. Hudson, who had examined the maps of John Smith of Virginia, turned to the west; and, passing beyond Greenland and Newfoundland, and running down the coast of Acadia, he anchored, probably, in the mouth of the Penobscot. Then, following the track of Gosnold, he came upon the promontory of Cape Cod, and, believing himself its first discoverer, gave it the name of New Holland. Long afterwards it was claimed as the north-eastern boundary of New Netherlands. From the sands of Cape Cod, he steered a southerly course, till he was opposite the entrance into the Bay of Virginia, where Hudson remembered that his countrymen were planted. Then, turning again to the north, he discovered the Delaware Bay, examined its currents and its soundings, and, without going on shore, took note of the aspect of the country.

On the third day of September, almost at the time when Champlain was invading New York from the north, less than five months after the truce with Spain, which gave the Netherlands a diplomatic existence as a state, the *Crescent* anchored within Sandy Hook, and, from the neighboring shores, that were crowned with "goodly oakes," attracted frequent visits from the natives. After a week's delay, Hudson sailed through the Narrows, and, at the mouth of the river,

anchored in a harbor which was pronounced to be very good for all winds. Of the surrounding lands, the luxuriant grass, the flowers, the trees, the grateful fragrance, were admired. Ten days were employed in exploring the river; the first of Europeans, Hudson went sounding his way above the Highlands, till at last the *Crescent* had sailed some miles beyond the city of Hudson, and a boat had advanced a little beyond Albany. Frequent intercourse was held with the astonished natives of the Algonquin race; and the strangers were welcomed by a deputation from the Mohawks. Having completed his discovery, Hudson descended the stream to which time has given his name; and, on the fourth day of October, about the season of the return of John Smith to England, he set sail for Europe, leaving once more to its solitude the land that his imagination, anticipating the future, described as "the most beautiful" in the world.

A happy return voyage brought the *Crescent* into Dartmouth. Hudson forwarded to his Dutch employers a brilliant account of his discoveries; but he never revisited the lands which he eulogized; and the Dutch East India company refused to search farther for the north-western passage.

Meantime ambition revived among the English merchants: a company was formed, and, in April, 1610, Hudson again entered the northern seas in search of a path to the Pacific. Passing Iceland and Greenland, and Frobisher's Straits, he sailed into the straits which bear his own name, and where he had been preceded by none but Sebastian Cabot. As he emerged from the passage, and came upon the wide gulf, he believed that his object had been gained. How great was his disappointment when he found himself embayed! As he sailed to and fro along the coast, it seemed a labyrinth without end; still confident of ultimate success, the inflexible mariner resolved on wintering in the bay, that he might perfect his discovery in the spring. Why should I dwell on the sufferings of a winter for which



no preparation had been made? At length the late and anxiously-expected spring burst forth; but it opened in vain for Hudson. Provisions were exhausted; he divided the last bread among his men, and prepared for them a bill of return; and "he wept as he gave it them." Believing himself almost on the point of succeeding, where Spaniards, and English, and Danes, and Dutch, had failed, he left his anchoring-place to steer for Europe. For two days, the ship was encompassed by fields of ice, and the discontent of the crew broke forth into mutiny. Hudson was seized, and, with his only son and seven others, four of whom were sick, was thrown into the shallop. Where has not humanity its servants? Seeing his commander thus exposed, Philip Staffe, the carpenter, demanded and gained leave to share his fate; and, just as the ship made its way out of the ice, on a mid-summer's day, in a latitude where the sun hardly goes down, and evening twilight ceases only with the dawn, the shallop was cut loose. What became of Hudson? Did he die miserably of starvation? Did he reach land to perish from the fury of the natives? Was he crushed between ribs of ice? The returning ship encountered storms, by which, it is probable, Hudson was overwhelmed. Alone of the great mariners of that day, he lies buried in America; the waste of waters which bears his name, is his tomb and monument.

As the country on the Hudson had been discovered by an agent of the Dutch East India company, the right of possession was claimed for the United Provinces; and, in 1610, the year in which Hudson perished, merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a ship with various merchandise to traffic with the natives. The voyage was prosperous, and was renewed. When Argall, in 1613, entered the waters of New York, he found three or four rude hovels already erected on the Island of Manhattan, as a summer shelter for the few Dutch mariners and fur traders, whom private enterprise had stationed there.

Had these early navigators in the bays round New York anticipated the future, they might have left careful memorials of their voyages. In March, 1614, the States General had assured to the adventurers a four years' monopoly of trade with newly-discovered lands; and merchants, forming a partnership, but not a corporation, availed themselves of the privilege. Several ships, in consequence, sailed for America; and from the imperfect and conflicting statements, we may infer, that perhaps in 1614 the first rude fort was erected, probably on the southern point of Manhattan Island; and Adrian Blok sailed through the East River, discovered Long Island to be an island, and examined the coast as far as Cape Cod. The discovery of Connecticut River is undoubtedly due to the Dutch; the name of its first European navigator is uncertain. That in 1615 the settlement at Albany began, on an island just below the present city, is placed beyond a doubt by existing records. It was the remote port of the Indian trader, and was never again abandoned. Yet at this early period there was no colony; not a single family had emigrated; the only Europeans on the Hudson were commercial agents and their subordinates.

The cause of the tardy progress of colonization is to be sought in the parties which divided the States. After the Calvinists, popular enthusiasm, and the stadtholder, had triumphed over the provincial states and municipal authorities; while the Netherlands were displaying unparalleted energy in their foreign relations, schemes of American commerce were revived.

The Dutch West India company, which became the sovereign of the central portion of the United States, was, in June, 1621, incorporated for twenty-four years, with a pledge of a renewal of its charter, and was invested, on the part of the Netherlands, with the exclusive privilege to traffic and plant colonies on the coast of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope; on the coast of America, from the Straits

of Magellan to the remotest north. Subscription to the joint stock was open to men of every nation; the States General gave to the company half a million of guilders, as an encouragement, and were also stockholders to the amount of another half million. The franchises of the company were immense, that it might have power to act with independence. The States General did not guaranty its possessions, or any specific territory, and, in case of war, were to be known only as allies and patrons. The company might plant or conquer provinces at its own risk, and, subject to the approval of the States General, had absolute power over its possessions. Branches of the company, five in all, were established in the principal cities of Netherlands; the charge of New Netherlands belonged to the branch at Amsterdam. The government of the whole was intrusted to a board of nineteen, of whom eighteen represented the five branches, and one was named by the States.

Thus did the little nation of merchants give away continents; and the corporate company, invested with a claim to more than a hemisphere, gradually culled from its boundless grant the rich territories of Guinea, Brazil, and New Netherlands.

The period of the due organization of the company was the epoch of zealous efforts at colonization. The name of the southern county and cape of New Jersey still attests the presence of Cornelius Mey, who, in 1623, not only visited Manhattan, but, entering the bay, and ascending the river of Delaware, known as the South River of the Dutch, took possession of the territory. On Timber Creek, a stream that enters the Delaware a few miles below Camden, he built Fort Nassau. The country from the southern shore of Delaware Bay to New Holland, or Cape Cod, became known as New Netherlands. This is the era of the permanent settlement of New York. Round the new block-house on Manhattan, the cottages of New Amsterdam began to cluster; the country assumed the form of a colony, and, from 1624, Peter Minuits, the commercial agent of the West India com-

pany, held for six years the office of governor. In 1625, there was certainly one family on Long Island, and a child of European parentage was born there.

Reprisals on Spanish commerce were the great object of the West India company; its North American colony was, for some years, little more than an inconsiderable establishment for trade, where Indians, even from the St. Lawrence, exchanged beaver-skins for European manufactures. The Spanish prizes, taken by the chartered privateers, on a single occasion, in 1628, were almost eighty-fold more valuable than the whole amount of exports from New Netherlands for the four preceding years.

In October, 1627, there was a first interchange of courtesies with the Pilgrims. De Razier, the second in command among the Dutch, went as envoy to Plymouth. On the south of Cape Cod, he was met by a boat from the Old Colony, and "honorably attended with the noise of trumpets." A treaty of friendship and commerce was proposed. The Pilgrims, who had English hearts, questioned the title of the Dutch to the banks of the Hudson, and recommended a treaty with England; the Dutch, with greater kindness, advised their old friends to remove to the rich meadows on the Connecticut. Harmony prevailed. "Our children after us," said the Pilgrims, "shall never forget the good and courteous entreaty which we found in your country, and shall desire your prosperity forever." Such was the benediction of Plymouth on New Amsterdam; at the same time, the Pilgrims, rivals for the beaver trade, begged the Dutch not to send their skiffs into the Narraganset.

These were the rude beginnings of New York. Its first age was the age of hunters and Indian traders; of traffic in the skins of otters and beavers; when the native tribes were employed in the pursuit of game, and the yachts of the Dutch, in quest of furs, penetrated every bay, and bosom, and inlet, from Narraganset to the Delaware. It was the day of straw roofs, and

wooden chimneys, and windmills. The experiment in feudal institutions followed.

In 1629, the College of Nineteen adopted a charter of privileges for patrons who desired to plant colonies in New Netherlands. The document was analogous to the political institutions of the Dutch of that day. The colonies in America were to resemble the lordships in the Netherlands. To every one who would emigrate on his own account, as much land as he could cultivate was promised; but emigration was not expected to follow from the enterprise of the cultivators of the soil. The boors in Holland enjoyed as yet no political franchises, and were equally destitute of the mobility which is created by the consciousness of political importance. To subordinate proprietaries New Netherlands was to owe its tenants. He that within four years would plant a colony of fifty souls, became Lord of the Manor, or Patron, possessing in absolute property the lands he might colonize. Those lands might extend sixteen miles in length; or, if they lay upon both sides of a river, eight miles on each bank, stretching as far into the interior as the situation might require; yet it was stipulated that the soil must be purchased of the Indians. Were cities to grow up, the institution of their government would rest with the patron, who was to exercise judicial power, yet subject to appeals. The schoolmaster and the minister were praised as desirable; but no provision was made for their maintenance. The selfish spirit of monopoly forbade the colonists to make any woollen, or linen, or cotton fabric; not a web might be woven, not a shuttle thrown, on penalty of exile. To impair the monopoly of the Dutch manufacturers was punishable as a perjury! The company, moreover, pledged itself to furnish the manors with negroes; yet not, it was warily provided, unless the traffic should prove lucrative. The Isle of Manhattan, as the chosen seat of commerce, was reserved to the company.

This charter of liberties was fatal to the interests of

the corporation; its directors and agents immediately appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of the territory. In June, 1629, three years before the concession of a charter for Maryland, Godyn purchased of the natives the soil from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of Delaware River; in July, 1639, this purchase of a territory more than thirty miles long, was ratified by a deed, and duly recorded. This is the first deed for land in Delaware, and comprises the soil of the two lower counties of that state. The opposite shore in New Jersey was also bought by Godyn and Bloemart, while Pauw became the proprietor of Pavonia, the country round Hoboken, and Staten Island. At the same time, five Indian chiefs, in return for parcels of goods, conveyed the land round Fort Orange, that is, from Albany to the mouth of the Mohawk, to the agent of Van Rensselaer; and, a few years afterwards, the purchase was extended twelve miles farther to the south.

The tract of land acquired by Godyn and his associates was immediately colonized. The first settlement in Delaware, older than any in Pennsylvania or New Jersey, was undertaken by Godyn, Van Rensselaer, Bloemart, and the historian De Laet. De Vries, the historian of the voyage, was its conductor, and held an equal share in the enterprise, which was intended to cover the southern shore of Delaware Bay with fields of wheat and tobacco. Embarking from the Texel, in December, 1639, in vessels laden with store of seeds, and cattle, and agricultural implements, he soon reached the bay, and, early in 1631, on the soil of Delaware, near Lewistown, planted a colony of more than thirty souls. The voyage of De Vries was the cradling of a state. That Delaware exists as a separate commonwealth is due to the colony which he led. He ascended the river as far as the site of Philadelphia. Fort Nassau had been abandoned; the colony in Delaware was as yet the only European settlement within the bay.

After more than a year's residence in America, De

Vries returned to Holland; but Osset, to whose care he committed the colony, could not avoid contests with the Indians. A chief lost his life; the relentless spirit of revenge prepared an ambush, which ended in the murder of every emigrant. At the close of 1632, De Vries, revisiting the New World, found the soil which he had planted strown with the bones of his countrymen.

Thus Delaware was reconquered by the natives; and before the Dutch could renew their claim, the patent granted to Baltimore gave them an English competitor. From the wrecks of his colony, De Vries sailed to Virginia, and, as, in the spring of 1633, he arrived at New Amsterdam, he found Walter van Twiller, the second governor of the colony, already in the harbor. Quarrels had broken out among the agents, and between the agents and their employers; the discontented Minuits had been displaced, and the colony had not prospered. The historian of Long Island records no regular occupation of lands on that island till 1636, three years after the arrival of Van Twiller. The rush of Puritan emigrants to New England had quickened the movements of the Dutch on the Connecticut, which they undoubtedly were the first to discover and to occupy. The soil round Hartford was purchased of the natives, and, in January, 1633, a fort was erected, which long remained in the hands of the West India company. But it was soon surrounded by English towns. At last, the swarms of the English in Connecticut grew so numerous, as not only to overwhelm the feeble settlement of the Dutch at Hartford, but, under a grant from Lord Stirling, to invade the less doubtful territories of New Netherlands. In 1649, the second year of the government of William Kieft, the arms of the Dutch on the east end of Long Island were thrown down in derision, and a fool's head set in their place.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

COLONIZATION AND CONQUEST OF NEW SWEDEN.

WHILE the New England men were thus encroaching on the Dutch on the east, a new competitor for possessions in America appeared in Delaware Bay.

Gustavus Adolphus, the greatest benefactor of humanity in the line of Swedish kings, had discerned the advantages which might be expected from colonies and widely-extended commerce. His zeal was encouraged by William Wsselinx, a Netherlander, whose mind for many years had been steadily devoted to the subject. At his instance, in 1626, a commercial company, with exclusive privileges to traffic beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and the right of planting colonies, was sanctioned by the king, and, in May, 1627, was incorporated by the states of Sweden. The stock was open to all Europe for subscription; the king himself pledged 400,000 dollars of the royal treasure on equal risks; the chief place of business was established at Gottenburg; a branch was promised to any city which would embark 300,000 dollars in the undertaking. The government of the future colonies was reserved to a royal council; while it was resolved to invite "colonists from all the nations of Europe." Other nations employed slaves in their colonies; and "slaves," said they, "cost a great deal, labor with reluctance, and soon perish from hard usage; the Swedish nation is laborious and intelligent; and surely we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children." To the Scandinavian imagination, hope painted the New World as a paradise; the proposed colony as a benefit to the persecuted, a security "to the honor of the wives and daughters" of those whom wars and bigotry had made fugitives; a blessing to the "common man," to the "whole Prot-

estant world." It may prove the advantage, said Gustavus, of "all oppressed Christendom."

But Protestant Christendom seemed menaced, not with oppression, but ruin. The insurrection against intellectual servitude, of which the reformation was the great expression, appeared in danger of being suppressed, when, in 1630, Gustavus Adolphus resolved to invade Germany, and vindicate the rights of conscience with his sword. The cherished purpose of colonization yielded in the emergency; and the funds of the company were arbitrarily applied as resources in the war. It was a war of revolution; a struggle to secure German liberty by establishing religious toleration; yet even the great events on which the destinies of Germany were suspended, could not wholly drive from the mind of Gustavus his designs in America. They did but enlarge his views; and, in 1632, at Nuremberg, but a few days before the battle of Lützen, where Humanity won one of her most glorious victories, and lost one of her ablest defenders, the enterprise, which still appeared to him as "the jewel of his kingdom," was recommended to the people of Germany.

In 1633, on confirming the invitation to Germany, Oxenstiern declares himself to be but the executor of the wish of Gustavus. The same wise statesman, one of the great men of all time, the serene chancellor, who in the busiest scenes never took a care with him to his couch, renewed the patent of the company, and extended its benefits to Germany; the charter was soon confirmed by the deputies of the four upper circles at Frankfort. "The consequences" of this design, said Oxenstiern, "will be favorable to all Christendom, to Europe, to the whole world." And were they not so? The first permanent colonization of the banks of the Delaware is due to Oxenstiern.

Yet more than four years passed away before the design was carried into effect. We have seen Minu-its, the first governor of New Amsterdam, forfeit his place amidst the strifes of faction. He now offered the

benefit of his experience to the Swedes; and, leaving Sweden near the close of the year 1637, he sailed for the Bay of Delaware. Two vessels, the *Key of Calmar* and the *Griffin*, formed his whole fleet; the care of the Swedish government provided the emigrants with a religious teacher, with provisions, and merchandise for traffic with the natives. Early in the year 1638, the little company of Swedes and Fins arrived in the Delaware Bay; the lands from the southern cape, which the emigrants from hyperborean regions named *Paradise Point*, to the falls in the river near *Trenton*, were purchased of the natives; and near the mouth of *Christiana Creek*, within the limits of the present state of Delaware, *Christiana Fort*, so called from the little girl who was then queen of Sweden, was erected. Delaware was colonized.

The colony was not unmolested. The records at Albany still preserve the protest, in which *Kieft*, the third governor of New Netherlands, claimed for the Dutch the country on the Delaware: their possession had long been guarded by forts, and had been sealed by the blood of their countrymen. But at that time, the fame of Swedish arms protected the Swedish flag in the New World; and while *Banner* and *Torstenson* were humbling Austria and Denmark, the Dutch did not venture beyond a protest.

Meantime tidings of the loveliness of the country had been borne to Scandinavia, and the peasantry of Sweden and of Finland longed to exchange their lands in Europe for a settlement on the Delaware. Emigration increased; at the last considerable expedition, there were more than a hundred families eager to embark for the land of promise, and unable to obtain a passage in the crowded vessels. The plantations of the Swedes were gradually extended; and, to preserve the ascendancy over the Dutch, who renewed their fort at *Nassau*, *Printz*, the governor, in 1643, established his residence in *Tinicum*, a few miles below Philadelphia. A fort, constructed of vast hemlock logs, defended the

island; and houses began to cluster in its neighborhood. Pennsylvania was, at last, occupied by Europeans; that commonwealth, like Delaware, traces its lineage to the Swedes, who had planted a suburb of Philadelphia before William Penn became its proprietary. The banks of the Delaware, from the ocean to the falls, were known as New Sweden.

While the limits of New Netherlands were narrowed by competitors on the east and on the south, and Long Island was soon to be claimed by the agent of Lord Stirling, the colony was almost annihilated by the vengeance of the neighboring Algonquin tribes. Angry and even bloody quarrels had sometimes arisen between dishonest traders and savages maddened by intoxication. The blameless settlement on Staten Island had, in consequence, been ruined by the blind vengeance of the tribes of New Jersey. The strife continued. A boy, who had been present when, years before, his uncle was robbed and murdered, had vowed revenge, and, now that, in 1641, he was grown to man's estate, remembered and executed the vow of his childhood. A roving but fruitless expedition into the country south of the Hudson, was the consequence. The Raritans were outlawed, and a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum was offered for every member of the tribe. The season of danger brought with it the necessity of consulting the people; and the commons elected a body of twelve to assist the governor. De Vries, the head of the committee of the people, urged the advantage of friendship with the natives. But the traders did not learn humanity, nor the savage forget revenge; and the son of a chief, stung by the conviction of having been defrauded and robbed, aimed an unerring arrow at the first Hollander exposed to his fury. In 1642, a deputation of the River chieftains hastened to express their sorrow, and deplore the alternate, never-ending libations of blood. The murderer they could not deliver up; but, after the custom of the Saxons in the days of Alfred, or the Irish under Elizabeth, in exact correspond-

ence with the usages of earliest Greece, they offered to purchase security for the murderer by a fine for blood. Two hundred fathom of the best wampum might console the grief of the widow. "You yourselves," they added, "are the cause of this evil; you cannot prevent mischief, till you cease to sell strong drink to the Indian."

Kieft was inexorable, and demanded the murderer. Just then, a small party of Mohawks from the neighborhood of Fort Orange, armed with muskets, descended from their fastnesses, and claimed the natives round Manhattan as tributaries. At the approach of the formidable warriors of a braver Huron race, the more numerous but cowering Algonquins crowded together in despair, begging assistance of the Dutch. Kieft seized the moment for an exterminating massacre. In vain was it foretold that the ruin would light upon the Dutch themselves. In the stillness of a dark winter's night, the soldiers at the fort, joined by freebooters from Dutch privateers, and led by a guide who knew every by-path and nook where the savages nestled, crossed the Hudson, for the purpose of destruction. The naked and unsuspecting tribes could offer little resistance; the noise of musketry mingled with the yell of the victims. Nearly a hundred perished in the carnage. Daybreak did not end its horrors; men might be seen, mangled and helpless, suffering from cold and hunger; children were tossed into the stream, and, as their parents plunged to their rescue, the soldiers prevented their landing, that both child and parent might drown.

The massacre was held in detestation by the colonists. For the moment, the governor exulted in his deed of treachery, and greeted the returning troops with exultation. But his joy was short. No sooner was it known that the midnight attack had been made, not by the Mohawks, but by the Dutch, than every Algonquin tribe round Manhattan burned with the frenzy of revenge. The swamps were their hiding-

places, from which sudden onsets were made in every direction; villages were laid waste, the farmer murdered in the field, his children swept into captivity. From the shores of New Jersey to the borders of Connecticut, not a bowery was safe. It was on this occasion that Anne Hutchinson perished with her family. The Dutch colony was threatened with ruin — was already overwhelmed with misery. "Mine eyes," says one who was present, "saw the flames at their towns, and the frights and hurries of men, women, and children, the present removal of all that could for Holland." The assassins were compelled to desire peace.

In March, 1643, a convention of sixteen sachems of Long Island assembled in the woods, and the envoys from Manhattan were conducted from the wigwams of Pennawits, their great chief, to the centre of the little senate. A chief rose, holding in one hand a bundle of small sticks. "When you first arrived on our shores, you were destitute of food; we gave you our beans and our corn; we fed you with oysters and fish; and now, for our recompense, you murder our people;" — such were the opening words of the orator. Having put down one little stick, he proceeded: "The traders whom your first ships left on our shore to traffic till their return, were cherished by us as the apple of our eye: we gave them our daughters for their wives; among those whom you have murdered were children of your own blood." He laid down another stick; and many more remained in his hand. The issue had been uncertain but for the presence of Roger Williams at Manhattan, on his way to England. His mediation gave a truce to Long Island. A month later, peace was covenanted with the Indians on Hudson River.

But harmony and confidence were not restored. The young men among the Indians would not be pacified; one had lost a father or a mother; a second owed revenge to the memory of a friend. No sufficient ransom had stifled revenge and calmed the pride of honor. "The presents we have received," said an older chief, in de-

spondency, "bear no proportion to our loss; the price of blood has not been paid;" and war was renewed.

The commander of the Dutch troops was John Underhill, a fugitive from New England, a veteran in Indian warfare, and one of the bravest men of his day. With a little army of one hundred and twenty men, he became the protector of the Dutch settlements. The war continued for two years. At length, the Dutch were weary of danger; the Indians tired of being hunted like beasts. The Mohawks claimed a sovereignty over the Algonquins; their ambassador appeared at Manhattan to negotiate a peace; and in front of Fort Amsterdam, the sachems of New Jersey, of the River Indians, of the Mohicans, and from Long Island, acknowledging the chiefs of the Five Nations as witnesses and arbitrators, and having around them the director and council of New Netherlands, with the whole commonalty of the Dutch, set their marks to a solemn treaty of peace. The joy of the colony broke forth into a general thanksgiving; but infamy attached to the name of Kieft, the author of the carnage; the emigrants desired to reject him as their governor; the West India company disclaimed his barbarous policy. About two years after the peace, he embarked for Europe in a large and richly-laden vessel; but the man of blood was not destined to revisit the shores of Holland. The ship in which he sailed, unable to breast the fury of elements as merciless as his own passions, was dashed in pieces on the coast of Wales, and the guilty Kieft was overwhelmed by the waves.

A better day dawned on New Netherlands, when, in May, 1647, the brave and honest Stuyvesant, recently vice-director of Curacao, wounded in the West Indies, in the attack on St. Martin, a soldier of experience, a scholar of some learning, promoted for his services, entered on the government of the province. Sad experience dictated a milder system towards the natives; and it was resolved to govern them with lenity. The interests of New Netherlands required free trade; at first, the de-

partment of Amsterdam would not consent to a change; it had alone borne the expense of the colony, and would tolerate no interlopers. But nature is stronger than privileged companies; the monopoly could not be enforced; and export duties were substituted. Manhattan began to prosper, when its merchants obtained freedom to follow the impulses of their own enterprise; and the glorious destiny of the city was anticipated.

With so feeble a population, it was impossible to protect the eastern boundary of New Netherlands. Of what avail were protests against actual settlers? Stuyvesant was instructed to preserve the house of Good Hope at Hartford; but while he was claiming the country from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen, there was danger that the New England men would stretch their settlements to the North River, intercept the navigation from Fort Orange, and monopolize the fur trade. The commercial corporation would not risk a war; the expense would impair its dividends. "War," they declared, "cannot, in any event, be for our advantage; the New England people are too powerful for us." No issue was left but by negotiation. Stuyvesant himself, in September, 1650, repaired to Hartford, and was glad to conclude a provisional treaty, which allowed New Netherlands to extend on Long Island as far as Oyster Bay, on the main to the neighborhood of Greenwich. This intercolonial treaty was acceptable to the West India company, but was never ratified in England; its conditional approbation by the States General is the only Dutch state paper in which the government of the republic recognized the boundaries of the province on the Hudson. The West India company could never obtain a national guaranty for the integrity of their possessions.

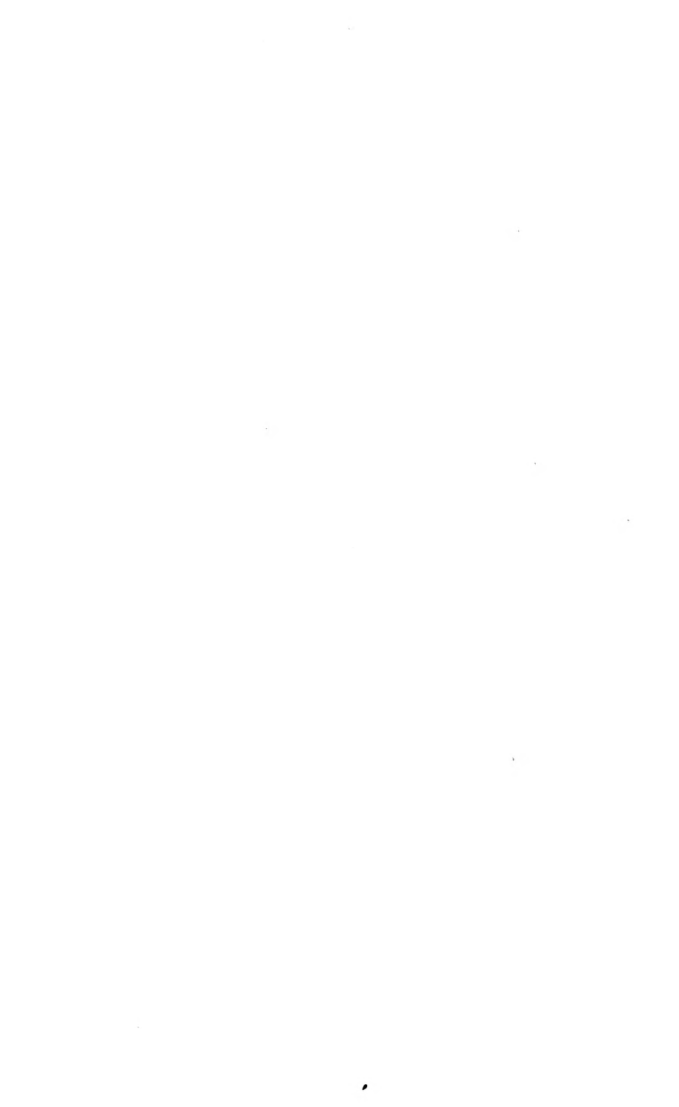
The war between the rival republics in Europe did not extend to America. We have seen the prudence of Massachusetts restrain the colonies; in England, Roger Williams delayed an armament against New Netherlands. It is true that the West India company, dreading an attack from New England, had instructed their

governor "to engage the Indians in his cause." But the friendship of the Narragansets for the Puritans could not be shaken. "I am poor," said Mixam, one of their sachems, "but no presents of goods, or of guns, or of powder and shot, shall draw me into a conspiracy against my friends the English." The naval successes of the Dutch inspired milder counsels; and the news of peace in Europe soon quieted every apprehension.

The Swedes remained powerful competitors for the tobacco of Virginia and the beaver of the Schuylkill. In the vicinity of the Delaware, the Swedish company was more powerful than its rival; but the whole province of New Netherlands was tenfold more populous than New Sweden. For commercial security, the Dutch, in 1651, built Fort Casimir, on the site of Newcastle, within five miles of Christiana, near the mouth of the Brandywine. To the Swedes this seemed an encroachment: jealousies ensued; and, in 1654, aided by stratagem and immediate superiority in numbers, Rising, the Swedish governor, overpowered the garrison. The aggression was fatal to the only colony which Sweden had planted. The metropolis was exhausted by a long succession of wars; the statesmen and soldiers whom Gustavus had educated, had passed from the public service; Oxenstiern, after adorning retirement by the sublime pursuits of philosophy, was no more; a youthful and licentious queen, greedy of literary distinction, and without capacity for government, had impaired the strength of the kingdom by nursing contending factions, and then capriciously abdicating the throne. Sweden had ceased to awaken fear or inspire respect; and the Dutch company fearlessly commanded Stuyvesant to "drive the Swedes from the river, or compel their submission." The order was renewed; and in September, 1655, the Dutch governor, collecting a force of more than six hundred men, sailed into the Delaware with the purpose of conquest. Resistance would have been unavailing. One fort after another surrendered: to Rising honorable terms were conceded; the colonists



MAP OF
FRENCH, ENGLISH, DUTCH,
SWEDISH and SPANISH
Possessions or claims
in the UNITED STATES, in
1655.



were promised the quiet possession of their estates ; and, in defiance of protests and the turbulence of the Scandinavians, the jurisdiction of the Dutch was established. Such was the end of NEW SWEDEN, the colony that connects our country with Gustavus Adolphus and the nations that dwell on the Gulf of Bothnia. It maintained its distinct existence for a little more than seventeen years, and succeeded in establishing permanent plantations on the Delaware. The descendants of the colonists, in the course of generations, widely scattered, and blended with emigrants of other lineage, constitute, probably, more than one part in two hundred of the present population of our country. At the surrender, they did not much exceed seven hundred souls. Free from ambition, ignorant of the ideas which were convulsing the English mind, it was only as Protestants that they shared the impulse of the age. They cherished the calm earnestness of religious feeling ; they revered the bonds of family and the purity of morals ; their children, under every disadvantage of want of teachers and of Swedish books, were well instructed. With the natives they preserved peace. A love for Sweden, their dear mother country, the abiding sentiment of loyalty towards its sovereign, continued to distinguish the little band ; at Stockholm, they remained for a century the objects of a disinterested and generous regard ; affection united them in the New World ; and a part of their descendants still preserve their altar and their dwellings round the graves of their fathers.

The conquest of the Swedish settlements was followed by relations bearing a near analogy to the provincial system of Rome. The country above Christiana was governed by Stuyvesant's deputy ; while the city of Amsterdam became, by purchase, the proprietary of Delaware, from the Brandywine to Bombay Hook ; and afterwards, in 1658 and 1659, under cessions from the natives, extended its jurisdiction to Cape Henlopen. But did a city ever govern a province with forbearance ? The noble and right honorable lords, the

burgomasters of Amsterdam, instituted a paralyzing commercial monopoly, and required of the colonists an oath of absolute obedience to all their past or future commands. But Maryland was free; Virginia governed itself. The restless colonists, and even the soldiers of the garrison, fled in troops from the dominion of Amsterdam to the liberties of English colonies. The province of the city was almost deserted; the attempt to elope was punishable by death, and scarce thirty families remained.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ENGLAND CONQUERS NEW NETHERLANDS.

THE Dutch seemed to have firmly established their power in New Netherlands. They exulted in the possession of a territory that needed no embankments against the ocean. They were proud of its vast extent, from New England to Maryland, from the sea to the Great River of Canada, and the remote north-western-wilderness. They sounded with exultation the channel of the deep stream, which was no longer shared with the Swedes, and counted with delight its many lovely runs of water, on which the beaver built their villages.

Meantime the country near the Hudson gained by increasing emigration. Manhattan was already the chosen abode of merchants; and the policy of the government invited them by its good will. If Stuyvesant sometimes displayed the rash despotism of a soldier, he was sure to be reprov'd by his employers. Did he change the rate of duties arbitrarily, the directors, sensitive to commercial honor, charged him "to keep every contract inviolate." Did he tamper with the currency by raising the nominal value of foreign coin, the measure was rebuked as dishonest. Did he attempt to fix the price

of labor by arbitrary rules, this also was condemned as unwise and impracticable. Did he interfere with the merchants by inspecting their accounts, the deed was censured as without precedent "in Christendom;" and he was ordered to "treat the merchants with kindness, lest they return, and the country be depopulated." Did his zeal for Calvinism lead him to persecute Lutherans, he was chid for his bigotry. Did his hatred of "the abominable sect of Quakers" imprison and afterwards exile the blameless Bowne, "let every peaceful citizen," wrote the directors, "enjoy freedom of conscience; this maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps, and you shall be blessed."

Private worship was, therefore, allowed to every religion. Opinion, if not yet enfranchised, was already tolerated; and Jews found a home, liberty, and a burial-place, on the Island of Manhattan.

The emigrants from Holland were themselves of the most various lineage; for Holland had long been the gathering-place of the unfortunate. Could we trace the descent of the emigrants from the Low Countries to New Netherlands, we should be carried not only to the banks of the Rhine and the borders of the German Sea, but to the Protestants who escaped from France after the massacre of Bartholomew's eve; and to those earlier inquirers who were swayed by the voice of Huss in the heart of Bohemia. New York was always a city of the world. Its settlers were relics of the first fruits of the reformation, chosen from the Belgic provinces and England, from France and Bohemia, from Germany and Switzerland, from Piedmont and the Italian Alps. When the hurricane of persecution swept over the pious Waldenses, the city of Amsterdam offered the fugitives a free passage to America, and a welcome reception was prepared in New Netherlands for the few who were willing to emigrate. When the Protestant churches in Rochelle were razed, the Calvinists of that city were gladly admitted. Troops of orphans were sometimes

shipped for the milder destinies of the New World; a free passage was offered to mechanics. The colony increased; children swarmed in every village; the new year and the month of May were welcomed with noisy frolics: new modes of activity were devised; lumber was shipped to France; the whale pursued off the coast; the vine, the mulberry, planted; flocks of sheep as well as cattle were multiplied; and tile, so long imported from Holland, began to be manufactured near Fort Orange. New Amsterdam could, in a few years, boast of stately buildings, and almost vied with Boston. "This happily-situated province," said its inhabitants, "may become the granary of our Fatherland; should our Netherlands be wasted by grievous wars, it will offer our countrymen a safe retreat; by God's blessing, we shall, in a few years, become a mighty people."

Thus did various nations of the Caucasian race assist in colonizing our central states. The African also had his portion on the Hudson. The West India company, which sometimes transported Indian captives to the West Indies, having large establishments on the coast of Guinea, at an early day introduced negroes into Manhattan, and continued the negro slave trade without remorse. The city of Amsterdam did not blush to own shares in a slave ship, to advance money for the outfits, and to participate in the returns. In proportion to population, New York, in 1664, had imported as many Africans as Virginia. That New York is not a slave state like Carolina, is due to climate, and not to the superior humanity of its founders. Stuyvesant was instructed to use every exertion to promote the sale of negroes. They were imported sometimes by way of the West Indies, often directly from Guinea, and were sold at public auction to the highest bidder. The average price was less than one hundred and forty dollars. The monopoly of the traffic was not strictly enforced; and a change of policy sometimes favored the export of negroes to the English colonies. The enfranchised negro might become a freeholder.

With the Africans came the African institution of abject slavery; the large emigrations from Connecticut engrafted on New Netherlands the idea of popular freedom. There were so many English at Manhattan as to require an English secretary, preachers who could speak in English as well as in Dutch, and a publication of civil ordinances in English. In whole towns New England men had planted "their liberties in a Congregational way," with the consent of the Dutch. Their presence and their activity foretold a revolution.

In the Fatherland, the power of the people was unknown; in New Netherlands, the necessities of the colony had given it a twilight existence, and, in 1642, delegates from the Dutch towns, at first twelve, then perhaps eight in number, had mitigated the arbitrary authority of Kieft. But there was no distinct concession of legislative power to the people. In 1652, the city of New Amsterdam obtained privileges, not the citizens. The province gained only the municipal liberties, on which rested the commercial aristocracy of Holland; and citizenship, far from being a political enfranchisement, was not much more than a license to trade.

In November, 1653, the persevering restlessness of the people led to a general assembly of two deputies from each village in New Netherlands—an assembly which Stuyvesant was unwilling to sanction, and could not prevent. As in Massachusetts, this first convention sprung from the will of the people; and it claimed the right of deliberating on the civil condition of the country.

"The States General of the United Provinces," said its members, "are our liege lords; but we are a member of the state, and not a subjugated people. We demand that no new laws shall be enacted but with consent of the people; that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people; that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived."

Stuyvesant was taken by surprise. "Laws," he replied, "will be made by the director and council. If the rule that the people elect their own officers should become

our cynosure, and the election of magistrates be left to the rabble, every man will vote for one of his own stamp. The thief will vote for a thief, the smuggler for a smuggler, and fraud and vice will become privileged. The old laws remain in force; directors will never make themselves responsible to subjects." "We derive our authority from God and the West India company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects." Such was his farewell message to the convention which he dispersed.

The West India company declared resistance to arbitrary taxation to be "contrary to the maxims of every enlightened government." "We approve the taxes you propose;" — thus they wrote to Stuyvesant; — "have no regard to the consent of the people;" "let them indulge no longer the visionary dream, that taxes can be imposed only with their consent;" and the colonists, in their desire that popular freedom might prove more than a vision, listened with complacency to the hope of obtaining English liberties by submitting to English jurisdiction.

Cromwell had planned the conquest of New Netherlands; in the days of his son, the design was revived; and the restoration of Charles II. threatened New Netherlands with danger from the south, the north, and from England.

The claim of Lord Baltimore to the country from Newcastle to Cape Henlopen was defended by his agents in America, and even presented, in Amsterdam, to the States General of the United Provinces. But the West India company was inflexible; and the Dutch, and Swedes, and Finns, kept the country safely for William Penn. At last, in 1663, the West India company, desiring a barrier against the English on the south, transferred the whole country on the Delaware to the city of Amsterdam. The banks of the river from Cape Henlopen to the falls at Trenton, certainly remained under the jurisdiction of the Dutch.

With Virginia, during the protectorate, amicable relations had been confirmed by reciprocal courtesies. But,

upon the restoration, the act of navigation, at first evaded, was soon enforced; and, in 1664, Berkeley, whose brother coveted the soil of New Jersey, threatened hostility. Clouds gathered in the south.

In the north, affairs were still more lowering. Massachusetts did not relinquish its right to an indefinite extension of its territory to the west; and the people of Connecticut increased their pretensions on Long Island, and steadily advanced towards the Hudson. The original grant from the States General was interpreted as conveying no more than a commercial privilege. To the plea of discovery, purchase from the natives, and long possession, it was replied, that Connecticut, by its charter, extended to the Pacific. "Where, then," demanded the Dutch negotiators, "where is New Netherlands?" And the agents of Connecticut answered, "We do not know."

These unavailing discussions were conducted during the horrors of a half-year's war with the savages round Esopus. In June, 1663, the rising village on the banks of that stream was laid waste; many of its inhabitants murdered or made captive; and it was only on the approach of winter that an armistice restored tranquillity. The colony had no friend but the Mohawks. "With them it kept but one council fire, and was united by a covenant chain."

The necessities of the times wrung from Stuyvesant the concession of an assembly; the delegates of the villages would only appeal to the States General and to the West India company for protection. But the States General had, as it were, invited aggression by abstaining from every public act which should pledge their honor to the defence of the province; and the West India company was too penurious to risk its funds, where victory was so hazardous. A new and more full diet, in the spring of 1664, demanded plainly of Stuyvesant — "If you cannot protect us, to whom shall we turn?" The governor, faithful to his trust, proposed the enlistment "of every third man, as had more than once been

done in the Fatherland." And thus Manhattan was left without defence; the people would not expose life for the West India company; and the company would not risk bankruptcy for a colony which it valued chiefly as property. Half Long Island revolted; the settlements on the Esopus wavered; the Connecticut men had purchased of the Indians all the seaboard as far as the North River. Such were the narratives of Stuyvesant to his employers.

In the mean time, while the United Provinces had confidence in a firm peace, the English were engaging in a piratical expedition against the Dutch possessions on the coast of Guinea. The king had also, with equal indifference to the chartered rights of Connecticut, and the claims of the Netherlands, granted to the duke of York not only the country from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, but the whole territory from the Connecticut River to the shores of the Delaware; and, under the conduct of Richard Nichols, groom of the bed-chamber to the duke of York, the English squadron which carried the commissioners for New England to Boston, having demanded recruits in Massachusetts, and received on board the governor of Connecticut, in the last days of August, 1664, approached the Narrows, and quietly cast anchor in Gravesend Bay. Long Island was lost; soldiers from New England pitched their camp near Breukelen Ferry.

In New Amsterdam there existed a division of counsels. Stuyvesant, faithful to his employers, struggled to maintain their interests; the municipality, conscious that the town was at the mercy of the English fleet, desired to avoid bloodshed by a surrender. A joint committee from the governor and the city having demanded of Nichols the cause of his presence, he replied by a letter, requiring of Stuyvesant the immediate acknowledgment of English sovereignty, with the condition of security to the inhabitants in life, liberty, and property. "The surrender," Stuyvesant nobly answered, "would be reproved in the Fatherland," and angrily tore in

pieces the letter from the English commander. On the third of September, a new deputation repaired to the fleet; but Nichols declined discussion. "When may we visit you again?" said the commissioners. "On Thursday," replied Nichols; "for to-morrow I will speak with you at Manhattan." "Friends," it was smoothly answered, "are very welcome there." "Raise the white flag of peace," said the English commander, "for I shall come with ships of war and soldiers." The commissioners returned to advocate the capitulation, which was quietly effected on the following days. The aristocratic liberties of Holland yielded to the hope of popular liberties like those of New England.

The articles of surrender, framed under the auspices of the municipal authority, by the mediation of the younger Winthrop and Pynchon, accepted by the magistrates and other inhabitants assembled in the town hall, and not ratified by Stuyvesant till the surrender had virtually been made, promised security to the customs, the religion, the municipal institutions, the possessions of the Dutch. The enforcement of the navigation act was delayed for six months. During that period, direct intercourse with Holland remained free. The towns were still to choose their own magistrates, and Manhattan, now first known as New York, to elect its deputies, with free voices in all public affairs.

The colonists were satisfied; very few embarked for Holland; it seemed rather that the new benefit of English liberties was to be added to the security of property. On the twenty-fourth of September, Fort Orange, now named Albany, from the Scottish title of the duke of York, quietly surrendered; and the league with the Five Nations was wisely renewed. Early in October, the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware capitulated; and, for the first time, the whole Atlantic coast of the old thirteen states was in possession of England. Our had obtained geographical unity.

The dismemberment of New Netherlands & its surrender. The duke of York had, in J

months before the conquest, assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both proprietaries of Carolina, the land between the Hudson and the Delaware. In honor of Carteret, once governor of the Isle of Jersey, the territory, with nearly the same bounds as at present, except on the north, received the name of *New Jersey*.

The settlements in New Netherlands beyond the Delaware, consisting chiefly of groups of Dutch round Lewistown and Newcastle, and Swedes and Finns at Christiana Creek, at Chester, and near Philadelphia, were retained as a dependency of New York. The claim of Lord Baltimore was denied with pertinacity. In 1672, the people of Maryland, desiring to stretch the boundary of their province to the bay, invaded Lewistown with an armed force; but the country was immediately reclaimed, as belonging by conquest to the duke of York; and Delaware still escaped the imminent peril of being absorbed in Maryland.

In respect to civil liberties, the territory shared the fortunes of New York; and for that province the establishment of English jurisdiction was not followed by the expected concessions. Connecticut, surrendering all claims to Long Island, obtained a favorable boundary on the main. The city of New York was incorporated; the municipal liberties of Albany were not impaired; but the province had no political franchises, and therefore no political unity. In the governor and his subservient council were vested the executive and the highest judicial powers; with the court of assizes, composed of justices of his own appointment, holding office at his will, he exercised supreme legislative power, promulgated a code of laws, and modified or repealed them at pleasure. No popular representation, no true English liberty, was conceded.

edgment Lovelace, the successor of Nichols, even on security to the northern shore of the Delaware, the Swedes and "The sur the most enduring of all emigrants, were roused be reprovance; while villages in New York clamored

for the promised legislation by annual assemblies, and resisted arbitrary rule as contrary to the laws of the English nation.

The votes which the yeomanry of Long Island, in 1670, had passed in their town meetings, were, by order of the governor and council, burned before the town-house of New York. But, meantime, the forts were not put in order; the government of the duke of York was hated as despotic; and when, in the next war between England and the Netherlands, in July, 1673, a small Dutch squadron, commanded by the gallant Evertsen of Zealand, approached Manhattan, the city was surrendered without a blow; the people of New Jersey made no resistance, and the counties on the Delaware, recovering greater privileges than they had enjoyed, cheerfully followed the example of submission. The quiet of the neighboring colonies was secured by a compromise for Long Island and a timely message from Massachusetts. The Mohawk chiefs came down to congratulate their brethren on the recovery of their colony. "We have always," said they, "been as one flesh. If the French descend from Canada, we will join with the Dutch nation, and live and die with them." And the words of love were confirmed by a belt of wampum. New York was once more a province of the Netherlands.

But Holland was too feeble to protect remote conquests against England. Charles II., also, who, in beginning the war, had violated the interests of his kingdom, and the principles of international justice, obtaining no supplies from parliament, and afraid of the enmity of Prussia, and Austria, and Spain, consented to treaties. After a military occupation of fifteen months by the Dutch, New Netherlands, in October, 1674, was finally transferred to England, and the heir to the English throne resumed the possession of New York and Delaware.

CHAPTER XXX.

COLONIZATION OF NEW JERSEY.

IF to fix boundaries and grant the soil could constitute a commonwealth, the duke of York gave political existence to New Jersey. Its moral character was moulded by New England Puritans, English Quakers, and dissenters from Scotland.

Avarice now paid its homage to freedom; and in February, 1665, the royalists, who were become lords of the soil, indifferent to liberty, sought to foster their province by most liberal concessions. Security of persons and property, under laws to be made by an assembly composed of the governor and council and at least an equal number of representatives of the people; freedom from taxation except by the colonial assembly; a combined opposition of the people and the proprietaries to any arbitrary impositions from England; freedom of judgment, conscience, and worship, to every peaceful citizen; — these were the allurements to New Jersey. To the proprietaries were reserved a veto on provincial enactments, the appointment of judicial officers, and the executive authority. Lands were promised at a moderate quitrent, not to be collected till 1670. The duke of York, now president of the African company, was the patron of the slave trade; the proprietaries, more true to the prince than to humanity, offered a bounty of seventy-five acres for the importation of each able slave. That the tenure of estates might rest on equity, the Indian title to lands was in all cases to be quieted.

The portion of New Netherlands which thus gained popular freedom, was at that time almost a wilderness. The first occupation of Fort Nassau in Gloucester, and the grants to Godyn and Bloemart, above Cape May, had been of so little avail, that, in 1634, not a single white man dwelt within the Bay of the Delaware. The

pioneers of Sir Edmund Ployden, and the restless emigrants from New Haven, had both been unsuccessful. Here and there, in the counties of Gloucester and Burlington, a Swedish farmer may have preserved his dwelling on the Jersey side of the river; and, before 1664, perhaps three Dutch families were established about Burlington; but as yet West New Jersey had not a hamlet. In East Jersey, of which the hills had been praised by Verrazzani, and the soil trodden by the mariners of Hudson, a trading station seems, in 1618, to have been occupied at Bergen, which grew into a permanent settlement. Before the end of 1664, a few families of Quakers appear also to have found a refuge south of Raritan Bay.

In that year, New England Puritans, sojourners on Long Island, who had leave of the Dutch to plant the banks of the Raritan and the Minnisink, succeeded in obtaining from the Indians a deed of an extensive territory on Newark Bay, and Nichols, ignorant as yet of the sale of New Jersey, encouraged their emigration by ratifying the sale. The tract afterwards became known as "the Elizabethtown purchase" — a subject of abundant litigation. In April, 1665, a further patent was issued, under the same authority, to William Goulding and others, for the region extending from Sandy Hook to the mouth of the Raritan. For a few months, East New Jersey bore the name of Albania. Nichols could boast that, "on the new purchases from the Indians, three towns were beginning;" and, under grants from the Dutch and from the governor of New York, the coast from the old settlement of Bergen to Sandy Hook, along Newark Bay, at Middletown, at Shrewsbury, was enlivened by humble plantations, that were soon to constitute a semicircle of villages.

In August, 1665, Philip Carteret appeared among the tenants of the scattered cabins, and was quietly received as the governor appointed for the colony by the proprietaries. In vain did Nichols protest against the division of his province, and struggle to secure for his patron

the territory which had been released in ignorance. The incipient people had no motive to second his complaints; the freedom of New Jersey assured its separate existence. Yet, so feeble were the beginnings of the commonwealth, it was but a cluster of four houses, which, in honor of the kind-hearted Lady Carteret, was now called Elizabethtown, and rose into dignity as the capital of the province.

To New England messengers were despatched to publish the tidings that Puritan liberties were warranted a shelter on the Raritan. Immediately an association of church members from the New Haven colony sailed into the Passaic, and, at the request of the governor, holding a council with the Hackensack tribe, themselves extinguished the Indian title to Newark. "With one heart, they resolved to carry on their spiritual and town affairs according to godly government;" to be ruled under their own laws by officers chosen from among themselves, and when, in May, 1668, a colonial legislative assembly was for the first time convened at Elizabethtown, the influence of Puritans transferred the chief features of the New England codes to the statute book of New Jersey.

The province increased in numbers and prosperity. The land was accessible and productive; the temperate climate delighted by its salubrity; there was little danger from the neighboring Indians, whose strength had been broken by long hostilities with the Dutch; the Five Nations guarded the approaches from the interior; and the vicinity of older settlements saved the emigrants from the distresses of a first adventure in the wilderness. Every thing was of good augury, till, in 1670, the quitrents of a half-penny an acre were seriously spoken of. The Indian deeds were pleaded as superior to proprietary grants; the payment of quitrents was refused; disputes were followed by confusion; and, in May, 1672, the disaffected colonists, following the impulse of independence rather than of gratitude, sent deputies to a constituent assembly at Elizabethtown. By that body

Philip Carteret was displaced, and his office transferred to the young and frivolous James Carteret. The proprietary officers could make no resistance. Following the advice of the council, after appointing John Berry as his deputy, Philip Carteret hastened to England in search of new authority, while the colonists remained in the undisturbed possession of their farms.

On the recovery of New Netherlands by the Dutch, in 1673, the people of New Jersey, for fifteen months, acknowledged their supremacy; but each town still nominated its own magistrates. In the Elizabethtown code, framed at that period, Puritan austerity was so tempered by Dutch indifference, that mercy itself could hardly have dictated a milder system. On the final surrender of New Netherlands to England, in October, 1673, changes took place in the organization of New Jersey. The banks of the Delaware were reserved for men who had been taught by the uneducated son of a poor Leicestershire weaver to seek the principle of God in their own hearts.

It is the peculiar glory of England, that her history is marked by an original, constant, and increasing political activity of the people. In the fourteenth century, the peasantry, conducted by tilers, and carters, and ploughmen, demanded of their young king a deliverance from the bondage and burdens of feudal oppression; in the fifteenth century, the last traces of villenage were wiped away; in the sixteenth, the noblest ideas of human destiny, awakening in the common mind, became the central points round which plebeian sects were gathered; in the seventeenth century, the enfranchised yeomanry began to feel a kindling impulse for a universal reform; and the moment arrived, when the plebeian mind should make its boldest effort to escape from hereditary prejudices; when the freedom of Bacon, the enthusiasm of Wickliffe, and the politics of Wat Tyler, were to gain the highest unity in a sect; when a popular, and therefore, in that age, a religious party, building upon a divine principle, should demand freedom of mind, purity of morals, and universal enfranchisement.

The sect had its birth in a period of intense public activity; when the heart of England was swelling with passions, and the public mind turbulent with factious leaders; when zeal for reform was invading the church, subverting the throne, and repealing the privileges of feudalism; when Presbyterians in every village were quarrelling with Anabaptists and Independents, and all with the Roman Catholics and the English Church.

The sect could arise only among the common people, who had every thing to gain by its success, and the least to hazard by its failure. The privileged classes had no motive to develop a principle before which their privileges would crumble. "Poor mechanics," said William Penn, "are wont to be God's great ambassadors to mankind." "He hath raised up a few despicable and illiterate men," said the accomplished Barclay, "to dispense the more full glad tidings reserved for our age." And George Fox, the first messenger who restored the simplicity of truth, was of low degree — in early life an apprentice to a Nottingham shoemaker, familiar with the Bible, ignorant of the learning of schools.

The rise of the people called Quakers is one of the memorable events in the history of man. It marks the moment when intellectual freedom was claimed unconditionally by the people as an inalienable birthright. To the masses in that age all reflection on politics and morals presented itself under a theological form. The Quaker doctrine is philosophy, summoned from the cloister, the college, and the saloon, and planted among the most despised of the people.

The mind of George Fox had the highest systematic sagacity; and his doctrine, developed and rendered illustrious by Barclay and Penn, was distinguished by its unity. The Quaker has but one word, THE INNER LIGHT, the voice of God in the soul. That light is a reality, and therefore, in its freedom, the highest revelation of truth; it is kindred with the Spirit of God, and therefore merits dominion as the guide to virtue; it shines in every man's breast, and therefore joins the whole

human race in the unity of equal rights. Intellectual freedom, the supremacy of mind, universal enfranchisement, — these three points include the whole of Quakerism, as far as it belongs to civil history.

Every where in Europe the Quakers were exposed to persecution. Their seriousness was called melancholy enthusiasm; their boldness, self-will; their frugality, covetousness; their freedom, infidelity; their conscience, rebellion. In England, the general laws against dissenters, the statute against Papists, and special statutes against themselves, put them at the mercy of every malignant informer. They were hated by the Church and the Presbyterians, by the peers and the king. The codes of that day describe them as “an abominable sect;” “their principles as inconsistent with any kind of government.” During the Long Parliament, in the time of the protectorate, at the restoration, in England, in New England, in the Dutch colony of New Netherlands, every where, and for long, wearisome years, they were exposed to perpetual dangers and griefs. They were whipped, crowded into jail among felons, kept in dungeons foul and gloomy beyond imagination; fined, exiled, sold into colonial bondage. They bore the brunt of the persecution of the dissenters. Imprisoned in winter without fire, they perished from frost. Some were victims to the barbarous cruelty of the jailer; twice George Fox narrowly escaped death. The despised people braved every danger to continue their assemblies. Haled out by violence, they returned. When their meeting-houses were torn down, they gathered openly on the ruins. They could not be dissolved by armed men; and when their opposers took shovels to throw rubbish on them, they stood close together, “willing to have been buried alive, witnessing for the Lord.” They were exceeding great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases treated worse than the worst of the race. They were as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all day long.

Is it strange that they looked beyond the Atlantic for

a refuge? When New Netherlands was recovered from the United Provinces, Berkeley and Carteret entered again into possession of their province. For Berkeley, already a very old man, the visions of colonial fortune had not been realized; there was nothing before him but contests for quitrents with settlers resolved on governing themselves: and, in March, 1674, a few months after the return of George Fox from his pilgrimage to all our colonies from Carolina to Rhode Island, the haughty peer, for a thousand pounds, sold the moiety of New Jersey to Quakers, to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllinge and his assigns. A dispute between Byllinge and Fenwick was allayed by the benevolent decision of William Penn; and, in 1675, Fenwick, with a large company and several families, set sail in the *Griffith* for the Asylum of Friends. Ascending the Delaware, he landed on a pleasant, fertile spot, and, as the outward world easily takes the hues of men's minds, he called the place Salem, for it seemed the dwelling-place of peace.

Byllinge was embarrassed in his fortunes; Gawen Laurie, William Penn, and Nicholas Lucas, became his assigns, as trustees for his creditors, and shares in the undivided moiety of New Jersey were offered for sale. But the Quakers wished more: they desired to possess a territory where they could institute a government; and, in August, 1676, Carteret readily agreed to a division, for his partners left him the best of the bargain. And, now that the men who had gone about to turn the world upside down, were possessed of a province, what system of politics would they adopt? The light that lighteth every man, shone brightly in the Pilgrims of Plymouth, the Calvinists of Hooker and Haynes, and in the freemen of Virginia, when the transient abolition of monarchy compelled even royalists to look from the throne to a surer guide in the heart: the Quakers, following the same exalted instincts, could but renew the fundamental legislation of the men of the Mayflower, of Hartford, and of the Old Dominion. "The CONCES-

sions are such as Friends approve of," — this is the message of the Quaker proprietaries in England to the few who had emigrated: "We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage, but by their own consent; for we put THE POWER IN THE PEOPLE." And on the third day of March, 1677, the charter, or fundamental laws of West New Jersey, were perfected and published.

No man, nor number of men, hath power over conscience. No person shall at any time, in any ways, or on any pretence, be called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, for opinion in religion. — The general assembly shall be chosen, not by the confused way of cries and voices, but by the balloting box. — Every man is capable to choose or be chosen. — The electors shall give their respective deputies instructions at large, which these, in their turn, by indentures under hand and seal, shall bind themselves to obey. The disobedient deputy may be questioned before the assembly by any one of his electors. Each member is to be allowed one shilling a day, to be paid by his immediate constituents, "that he may be known as the servant of the people." — The executive power rested with ten commissioners, to be appointed by the assembly; justices and constables were chosen directly by the people; the judges, appointed by the general assembly, retained office but two years at the most, and sat in the courts but as assistants to the jury. In the twelve men, and in them only, judgment resides; in them, and in the general assembly, rests discretion as to punishments. "All and every person in the province shall, by the help of the Lord and these fundamentals, be free from oppression and slavery." No man can be imprisoned for debt. Courts were to be managed without the necessity of an attorney or counsellor. The native was protected against encroachments, the helpless orphan educated by the state.

Immediately the English Quakers, with the good

wishes of Charles II., flocked to West New Jersey; and commissioners, possessing a temporary authority, were sent to administer affairs, till a popular government could be instituted. When the vessel, freighted with the men of peace, arrived in America, Andros, the governor of New York, claimed jurisdiction over their territory. The claim, which, on the feudal system, was perhaps a just one, was compromised as a present question, and referred for decision to England. Meantime lands were purchased of the Indians; the planters numbered nearly four hundred souls; and already, at Burlington, under a tent covered with sail-cloth, the Quakers began to hold religious meetings. In 1678, the Indian kings gathered in council amidst the shades of the Burlington forests, and declared their joy at the prospect of permanent peace. "You are our brothers," said the sachems, "and we will live like brothers with you. We will have a broad path for you and us to walk in. If an Englishman falls asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass him by, and say, He is an Englishman; he is asleep; let him alone. The path shall be plain; there shall not be in it a stump to hurt the feet."

Every thing augured success to the colony, but that, at Newcastle, the agent of the duke of York, who still possessed Delaware, exacted customs of the ships ascending to New Jersey. It may have been honestly believed that his jurisdiction included the whole river; when urgent remonstrances were made, the duke freely referred the question to a disinterested commission.

The argument of the Quakers breathes the spirit of Anglo-Saxons, and was triumphant. Sir William Jones decided that, as the grant from the duke of York had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the tax was illegal. In 1680, the duke of York acquiesced in the decision, and in a new indenture relinquished every claim to the territory and the government.

After such trials, vicissitudes, and success, the light

of peace dawned upon West New Jersey; and, in November, 1681, Jennings, acting as governor for the proprietaries, convened the first legislative assembly of the representatives of men who said *thee* and *thou* to all the world, and wore their hats in presence of beggar or king. Their first measures established their rights by an act of fundamental legislation, and, in the spirit of "the Concessions," they framed their government on the basis of humanity. Neither faith, nor wealth, nor race, was respected. They met in the wilderness as men, and founded society on equal rights. They levied for the expenses of their commonwealth two hundred pounds, to be paid in corn, or skins, or money; they voted the governor a salary of twenty pounds; they prohibited the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians; they forbade imprisonment for debt. The little government of a few hundred souls soon increased to thousands. The people rejoiced under the reign of God, confident that he would beautify the meek with salvation. A loving correspondence began with Friends in England; and from the fathers of the sect frequent messages were received.

In the midst of this innocent tranquillity, Byllinge, the original grantee of Berkeley, claimed, as proprietary, the right of nominating the deputy-governor. The usurpation was resisted. Byllinge grew importunate; and the Quakers, setting a new precedent, amended their constitutions according to the prescribed method, and then elected a governor. "The people's choice was the foundation of the whole." This method of reform was the advice of William Penn, who, in June, 1680, had become a suitor for a grant of territory on the opposite bank of the Delaware.

CHAPTER XXXI.

COLONIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE son and grandson of naval officers, the thoughts of William Penn had from boyhood been directed to the ocean; the conquest of Jamaica by his father early familiarized his imagination with the New World, and, at the age of seventeen, he indulged in visions of happiness, of which America was the scene. Bred in the school of Independency, he had, while hardly twelve years old, learned to listen to the voice of God in his soul; and at Oxford, in 1661, the words of a Quaker preacher so touched his heart, that he was fined, and afterwards expelled, for non-conformity. To complete his education, William Penn received a father's permission to visit the continent; and in the college at Saumur, under the guidance of the gifted and benevolent Amyraut, his mind was trained in the severities of Calvinism, as tempered by the spirit of universal love.

In 1664, Penn was recalled, to assume the care of the estates of the family, and to gain a knowledge of English law, as a student of Lincoln's Inn.

Having thus perfected his understanding by the learning of Oxford, the religion and philosophy of the French Huguenots and France, and the study of the laws of England; in the bloom of youth, being of engaging manners, and so skilled in the use of the sword that he easily disarmed an antagonist; of great natural vivacity, and gay good humor;—the career of wealth and preferment opened before him through the influence of his father and the ready favor of his sovereign. But his mind was already imbued with “a deep sense of the vanity of the world, and the irreligiousness of its religions.”

At length, in 1666, on a journey in Ireland, William Penn heard his old friend Thomas Loc speak of the faith that overcomes the world: the fires of enthusiasm

at once blazed up within him, and he renounced every hope for the path of integrity. It is a path into which, says Penn, "God, in his everlasting kindness, guided my feet in the flower of my youth, when about two-and-twenty years of age." And in the autumn of that year, he was in jail for the crime of listening to the voice of conscience. "Religion" — such was his remonstrance to the viceroy of Ireland — "is my crime and my innocence; it makes me a prisoner to malice, but my own freeman."

After his enlargement, returning to England, he encountered bitter mockings and scornings; it was noised about, in the fashionable world, as an excellent jest, that "William Penn was a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing;" and his father, in anger, turned him penniless out of doors.

The outcast, saved from extreme indigence by a mother's fondness, was urging the cause of freedom with importunity, when, in the heyday of youth, he was consigned to a long and close imprisonment in the Tower. His offence was heresy. The bishop of London menaced him with imprisonment for life unless he would recant. "My prison shall be my grave," answered Penn. The kind-hearted Charles II. sent the humane and candid Stillingfleet to calm the young enthusiast. "The Tower" — such was Penn's message to the king — "is to me the worst argument in the world;" and he demanded freedom "as the natural privilege of an Englishman." After about nine months, his prison door was opened by the intercession of his father's friend, the duke of York; for his constancy had commanded the respect and recovered the favor of his father.

Scarcely had Penn been at liberty a year, when, in 1670, after the intense intolerance of "the conventicle act," he was arraigned for having spoken at a Quaker meeting. From the interpretation of the law by the magistrate, the young man appealed to the jury, reminding them that "they were his judges." "You are Englishmen," said he; "mind your privilege; give not

away your right;" and at last the jury, who had received no refreshments for two days and two nights, on the third day, gave their verdict, "Not guilty."

On the death of his father, inheriting a large fortune, he continued to defend publicly, from the press, the principles of intellectual liberty and moral equality, and remonstrated in unmeasured terms against bigotry and intolerance; and, never fearing openly to address a Quaker meeting, he was soon on the road to Newgate, to suffer for his honesty by a six months' imprisonment. "You are an ingenious gentleman," said the magistrate at the trial; "you have a plentiful estate; why should you render yourself unhappy by associating with such a simple people?" "I prefer," said Penn, "the honestly simple to the ingeniously wicked." The magistrate rejoined by charging Penn with previous immoralities. The young man, with passionate vehemence, vindicated the spotlessness of his life. "I speak this," he adds, "to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who, from a child, begot a hatred in me towards them." "Thy words shall be thy burden; I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet."

On his release from imprisonment, a calmer season followed. Penn travelled in Holland and Germany; then, returning to England, he married a woman of extraordinary beauty and sweetness of temper, whose noble spirit "chose him before many suitors," and honored him with "a deep and upright love." As persecution in England was suspended, he enjoyed for two years the delights of rural life, and the animating pursuit of letters; till the storm was renewed, and the imprisonment of George Fox, on his return from America, demanded intercession. Why narrate the severities, which, like a slow poison, brought the prisoner to the borders of the grave? Why enumerate the atrocities of petty tyrants, invested with village magistracies—the ferocious passions of irresponsible jailers? The statute-book of England contains the clearest impress of the bigotry

which a national church could foster, and a parliament avow.

After travelling through Germany to explain the universal principle to princes and peasants, — after earnest appeals in behalf of the rights of conscience to the English government and the English people, when every hope of reform from parliament vanished, and bigotry and tyranny prevailed more than ever, — Penn, despairing of relief in Europe, bent the whole energy of his mind to accomplish the establishment of a free government in the New World. His father, distinguished in English history by the conquest of Jamaica, and by his conduct, discretion, and courage, in the signal battle against the Dutch in 1665, had bequeathed to him a claim on the government for sixteen thousand pounds. To the prodigal Charles II., always embarrassed for money, the grant of a province seemed the easiest mode of cancelling the debt. By the aid of powerful friends, and the assured favor of the duke of York, William Penn obtained a charter for the territory, which received from the king the name of Pennsylvania, and which was to include three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware. To avoid encroaching on the three lower counties, that is, the state of Delaware, Pennsylvania was, in that direction, limited by a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from Newcastle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude. This impossible boundary received the assent of the agents of the duke of York and Lord Baltimore.

The charter, as originally drawn up by William Penn himself, conceded powers of government analogous to those of the charter for Maryland. That no clause might be at variance with English law, it was revised by the attorney-general, and amended by Lord North, who inserted clauses to guard the sovereignty of the king, and even to reserve to parliament the power of levying customs.

In March, 1681, the patent, wrote William Penn, was

confirmed "under the great seal of England. God will bless and make the country the seed of a nation."

The royal mandate announced to all the inhabitants of the province, whether Swedes, Dutch, or English, that William Penn, their absolute proprietary, was invested with all powers and preëminences necessary for the government. The proprietary also issued his proclamation to his vassals and subjects. It was in the following words:—"My Friends: I wish you all happiness here and hereafter. These are to let you know, that it hath pleased God in his providence to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business, that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do it uprightly. You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it."

With this letter to the inhabitants, young Markham, in May, 1681, sailed as agent of the proprietary. During the summer, the conditions for the sale of lands were reciprocally ratified by Penn and a company of adventurers. In August, a company of traders offered six thousand pounds and an annual revenue for a monopoly of the Indian traffic between the Delaware and the Susquehannah. To a father of a family, in straitened circumstances, the temptation was great; but Penn was bound, by his religion, to equal laws, and he rebuked the cupidity of monopoly. "I will not abuse the love of God,"—such was his decision,— "nor act unworthy of his providence, by defiling what came to me clean. No; let the Lord guide me by his wisdom, to honor his name, and serve his truth and people, that an example and a standard may be set up to the nations;" and he adds to a Friend, "There may be room there, though not here, for the Holy Experiment."

Meantime, the mind of Penn was deeply agitated by

thoughts on the government which he should establish. "I purpose," — such was his prompt decision, — "for the matters of liberty I purpose, that which is extraordinary — to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country;" and, guided by the suavity and humanity of his Quaker brethren, in May, 1682, Penn published a frame of government, to be referred to the free men in Pennsylvania for their approval.

The government and commercial prosperity of the colony were founded in freedom; to perfect his territory, Penn desired to possess the bay, the river, and the shore of the Delaware to the ocean. The territories or three lower counties, now forming the state of Delaware, were in possession of the duke of York, and, from the conquest of New Netherlands, had been esteemed an appendage to his province. His claim, arising from conquest and possession, had the informal assent of the king and the privy council, and had extended even to the upper Swedish settlements. It was not difficult to obtain from the duke a release of his claim on Pennsylvania; and, after much negotiation, the lower province was granted by two deeds of feoffment.

Every arrangement for a voyage to his province being finished, Penn took leave of his family. Friends in England watched his departure with anxious hope; and their farewell at parting was given with "the innocence and tenderness of the child that has no guile."

After a long passage, rendered gloomy by frequent death among the passengers, many of whom had in England been his immediate neighbors, on the twenty-seventh day of October, 1682, William Penn landed at Newcastle. He landed full of hope.

Believing that God is in every conscience, his light in every soul, he was resolved to build — such are his own words — "a free colony for all mankind." This is the

praise of William Penn, that, in an age which had seen a popular revolution shipwreck popular liberty among selfish factions, — which had seen Hugh Peters and Henry Vane perish by the hangman's cord and the axe, — he did not despair of humanity; and, though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government. Conscious that there was no room for its exercise in England, the pure enthusiast — like Calvin and Descartes, a voluntary exile — was come to the banks of the Delaware to institute "THE HOLY EXPERIMENT."

The news spread rapidly, that the Quaker king was at Newcastle; and, on the day after his landing, in presence of a crowd of Swedes, and Dutch, and English, who had gathered round the court-house, his deeds of feoffment were produced; the duke of York's agent surrendered the territory by the solemn delivery of earth and water, and Penn, invested with supreme and undefined power in Delaware, addressed the assembled multitude on government, recommended sobriety and peace, and pledged himself to grant liberty of conscience and civil freedom.

From Newcastle Penn ascended the Delaware to Chester, where he was hospitably received by the honest, kind-hearted emigrants who had preceded him from the north of England; the little village of herdsmen and farmers, with their plain manners, gentle dispositions, and tranquil passions, seemed a harbinger of a golden age.

From Chester tradition describes the journey of Penn to have been continued with a few friends in an open boat, in the earliest days of November, to the beautiful bank, fringed with pine-trees, on which the city of Philadelphia was soon to rise.

In the following weeks, Penn visited West and East New Jersey, New York, the metropolis of his neighbor proprietary, the duke of York, and, after meeting Friends on Long Island, he returned to the banks of the Delaware.

To the year 1682 belongs his first grand treaty with the Indians. Beneath a large elm-tree at Shakamaxon, on the northern edge of Philadelphia, William Penn, surrounded by a few Friends, in the habiliments of peace, met the numerous delegation of the Lenni Lenape tribes. The great treaty was not for the purchase of lands; but, under the shelter of the forest, now leafless by the frosts of autumn, Penn proclaimed to the men of the Algonquin race, from both banks of the Delaware, from the borders of the Schuylkill, and, it may have been, even from the Susquehannah, the equal rights of humanity.

"We meet" — such were his words — "on the broad pathway of good faith and good will; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children; for parents sometimes chide their children too severely; nor brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain; for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts; we are all one flesh and blood."

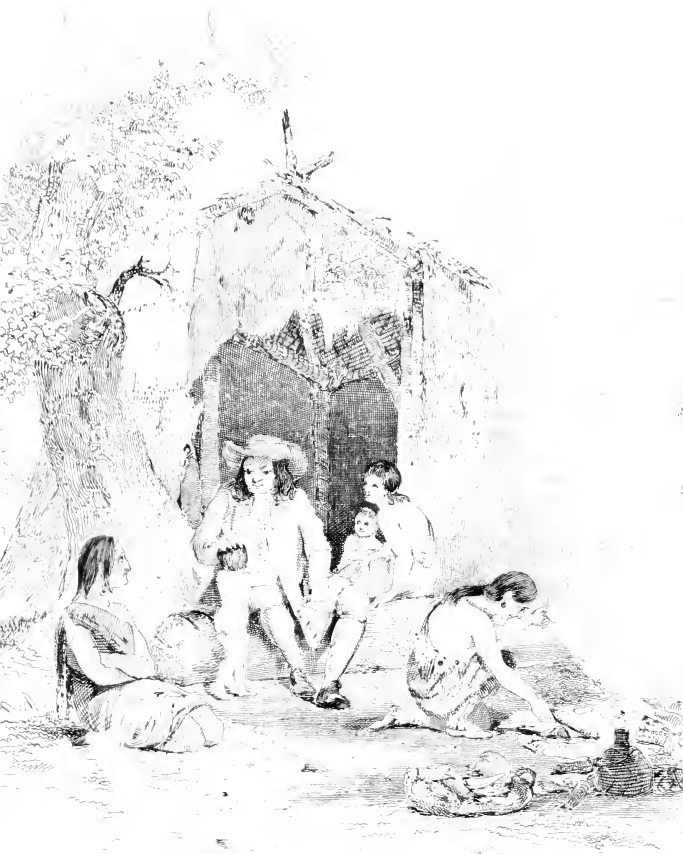
The children of the forest were touched by the sacred doctrine, and renounced their guile and their revenge. They received the presents of Penn in sincerity; and with hearty friendship they gave the belt of wampum. "We will live," said they, "in love with William Penn and his children, as long as the moon and the sun shall endure."

This treaty of peace and friendship was made under the open sky, by the side of the Delaware, with the sun, and the river, and the forest, for witnesses. It was not confirmed by an oath; it was not ratified by signatures and seals; no written record of the conference can be found; and its terms and conditions had no abiding monument but on the heart. There they were written like the law of God, and were never forgotten. The simple sons of the wilderness, returning to their wigwams, kept the history of the covenant by strings of

wampum, and, long afterwards, in their cabins, would count over the shells on a clean piece of bark, and recall to their own memory, and repeat to their children or to the stranger, the words of William Penn. New England had just terminated a disastrous war of extermination; the Dutch were scarcely ever at peace with the Algonquins; the laws of Maryland refer to Indian hostilities and massacres which extended as far as Richmond. Penn came without arms; he declared his purpose to abstain from violence; he had no message but peace; and not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian.

The Quakers, ignorant of the homage which their virtues would receive from Voltaire and Raynal, men so unlike themselves, exulted in the consciousness of their humanity. We have done better, said they truly, "than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi. We may make the ambitious heroes, whom the world admires, blush for their shameful victories. To the poor, dark souls round about us, we teach their RIGHTS AS MEN."

Peace existed with the natives; the contentment of the emigrants was made perfect by the happy inauguration of the government. A general convention had been permitted by Penn: the people preferred to appear by their representatives; and in three days of December, 1682, the work of preparatory legislation at Chester was finished. The charter from the king did not include the territories; these were now enfranchised by the joint act of the inhabitants and the proprietary, and united with Pennsylvania on the basis of equal rights. The freedom of all the inhabitants being thus confirmed, the Inward Voice, which was the celestial visitant to the Quakers, dictated a code. God was declared the only Lord of conscience; the first day of the week was reserved as a day of leisure, for the ease of the creation. The rule of equality was introduced into families by abrogating the privileges of primogeniture. The word of an honest man was evidence without an



oath. The mad spirit of speculation was checked by a system of strict accountability, applied to factors and agents. Every man liable to civil burdens possessed the right of suffrage; and, without regard to sect, every Christian was eligible to office. No tax or custom could be levied but by law. The Quaker is a spiritualist; the pleasures of the senses, masks, revels, and stage-plays, not less than bull-baits and cock-fights, were prohibited. Murder was the only crime punishable by death. Marriage was esteemed a civil contract; adultery a felony. The Quakers had suffered from wrong imprisonment; the false accuser was liable to double damages. Every prison for convicts was made a work-house. There were neither poor rates nor tithes. The Swedes, and Finns, and Dutch, were invested with the liberties of Englishmen. Well might Lawrence Cook exclaim in their behalf, "It is the best day we have ever seen!" The work of legislation being finished, the proprietary urged upon the house his religious counsel, and the assembly was adjourned.

The government having been organized, William Penn, accompanied by members of his council, hastened to West River, to interchange courtesies with Lord Baltimore, and fix the limits of their respective provinces. The adjustment was difficult. Lord Baltimore claimed by his charter the whole country as far as the fortieth degree. Penn replied, just as the Dutch and the agents of the duke of York had always urged, that the charter for Maryland included only lands that were still unoccupied; that the banks of the Delaware had been purchased, appropriated, and colonized, before that charter was written. A discussion of three days led to no result: tired of useless debates, Penn returned to his own province, prepared to renew negotiation, or to submit to arbitration in England.

His enthusiasm sustained his excited mind in unceasing exertion; and immediately, in the first weeks of 1683, he selected a site for a city, purchased the ground of the Swedes, and, in a situation "not sur-

passed" — such are his words — "by one among all the many places he had seen in the world," — and he had seen the cities of Europe from Bremen to Turin, — on a neck of land between the Schuylkill and Delaware, appointed for a town by the convenience of the rivers, the firmness of the land, the pure springs and salubrious air, William Penn laid out Philadelphia, the abode of freedom, the home of humanity.

In March, the infant city, in which there could have been few mansions but hollow trees, was already the scene of legislation. From each of the six counties into which Penn's dominions were divided, nine representatives — Swedes, Dutch, and Quaker preachers, of Wales, and Ireland, and England — were elected for the purpose of establishing a charter of liberties. They desired it might be the acknowledged growth of the New World, and bear date in Philadelphia. And when the general assembly came together, he referred to the frame of government proposed in England, saying, "You may amend, alter, or add; I am ready to settle such foundations as may be for your happiness."

The constitution which was established created a legislative council and a more numerous assembly; the former to be elected for three years, one third being renewed annually; the assembly to be annually chosen. Rotation in office was enjoined. The theory of the constitution gave to the governor and council the right of proposing all laws; these were to be promulgated to the people; and the office of the assembly was designed to be no more than to report the decision of the people in their primary meetings. Such was the system of the charter of liberties. The assembly at once set the precedent of engaging in debate, and of proposing subjects for bills by way of conference with the governor and council. In return, by unanimous vote, a negative voice was allowed the governor on all the doings of the council. In other respects, the frame of government gave all power to the people; the judges were to be nominated by the provincial council, and, in

case of good behavior, could not be removed by the proprietary during the term for which they were commissioned. In Maryland, the council was named by Lord Baltimore; in Pennsylvania, by the people. In Maryland, the power of appointing magistrates, and all, even the subordinate, executive officers, rested solely with the proprietary; in Pennsylvania, William Penn could not appoint a justice or a constable; every executive officer, except the highest, was elected by the people or their representatives.

In the name of all the freemen of the province, the charter was received by the assembly with gratitude, as one "of more than expected liberty." "I desired," says Penn, "to show men as free and as happy as they can be."

It remained to dislodge superstition from its hiding-places in the mind. The Scandinavian emigrants came from their native forests with imaginations clouded by the gloomy terrors of an invisible world of fiends; and, in February, 1684, a turbulent woman was brought to trial as a witch. Penn presided, and the Quakers on the jury outnumbered the Swedes. The grounds of the accusation were canvassed, the witnesses calmly examined; and the jury, having listened to the charge from the governor, returned this verdict: "The prisoner is guilty of the common fame of being a witch, but not guilty as she stands indicted." The friends of the liberated prisoner were required to give bonds, that she should keep the peace; and in Penn's domain, from that day to this, neither demon nor hag ever rode through the air on goat or broomstick; and the blackest arts of conjuration went no farther than to foretell fortunes, mutter spells over quack medicines, or discover by the divining rod the hidden treasures of the buccaneers.

Meantime the news spread abroad, that William Penn, the Quaker, had opened "an asylum to the good and the oppressed of every nation;" and humanity went through Europe, gathering the children of misfortune. From England and Wales, from Scotland and Ireland, and the

Low Countries, emigrants crowded to the land of promise. On the banks of the Rhine, it was whispered that the plans of Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstiern were consummated; new companies were formed under better auspices than those of the Swedes; and from the highlands above Worms, the humble people who had melted at the eloquence of Penn, the Quaker emissary, renounced their German homes for the protection of the Quaker king. There is nothing in the history of the human race like the confidence which the simple virtues and institutions of William Penn inspired. The progress of his province was more rapid than the progress of New England. In August, 1683, "Philadelphia consisted of three or four little cottages;" the conies were yet undisturbed in their hereditary burrows; the deer fearlessly bounded past blazed trees, unconscious of foreboded streets; the stranger that wandered from the river bank was lost in the thickets of the interminable forest; and, two years afterwards, the place contained about six hundred houses, and the schoolmaster and the printing-press had begun their work. In three years from its foundation, Philadelphia gained more than New York had done in half a century. This was the happiest season in the public life of William Penn. "I must, without vanity, say," — such was his honest exultation in 1684, — "I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit; and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it, are to be found among us."

The government had been organized, peace with the natives confirmed, the fundamental law established, the courts of justice instituted; the mission of William Penn was accomplished; and now, like Solon, the most humane of ancient legislators, he prepared to leave the commonwealth of which he had founded the happiness. Intrusting the great seal to his friend Lloyd, and the executive power to a committee of the council, in August, 1684, Penn sailed for England, leaving freedom to its

own development. His departure was happy for the colony and for his own tranquillity. He had established a democracy, and was himself a feudal sovereign. The two elements in the government were incompatible; and, for ninety years, the civil history of Pennsylvania is but the account of the jarring of these opposing interests, to which there could be no happy issue but in popular independence. But rude collisions were not yet begun; and the benevolence of William Penn breathed to his people a farewell unclouded by apprehension. And after he reached England, he assured the eager inquirers, that "things went on sweetly with Friends in Pennsylvania; that they increased finely in outward things and in wisdom."

The question respecting the boundaries between the domains of Lord Baltimore and of William Penn was promptly resumed before the committee of trade and plantations; and, after many hearings, it was decided, in 1685, that the tract of Delaware did not constitute a part of Maryland. The proper boundaries of the territory remained to be settled; and the present limits of Delaware were established by a compromise. There is no reason to suppose any undue bias on the minds of the committee; had a wrong been suspected, the decision would have been reversed at the revolution of 1688.

This decision formed the basis of an agreement between the respective heirs of the two proprietaries in 1732. Three years afterwards, the subject became a question in chancery; in 1750, the present boundaries were decreed by Lord Hardwicke; ten years afterwards, they were, by agreement, more accurately defined; and, in 1761, the line between Maryland and Pennsylvania towards the west, was run by Mason and Dixon. That that line forms the present division between the states resting on free labor, and the states that tolerate slavery, is due, not to the philanthropy of Quakers alone, but to climate. Delaware lies between the same parallels as Maryland; and Quakerism has not exempted it from negro slavery.

Meanwhile the Quaker legislators in the woods of Pennsylvania were serving their novitiate in popular legislation. The assembly originated bills without scruple; they attempted a new organization of the judiciary; they alarmed the merchants by their lenity towards debtors; they would vote no taxes; they claimed the right of inspecting the records, and displacing the officers of the courts; they expelled a member who reminded them of their contravening the provisions of their charter. The executive power was also imperfectly administered; for the whole council was too numerous a body for its regular exercise. A commission of five was substituted; and finally, when, in 1688, it was resolved to appoint a deputy-governor, the choice of the proprietary was not wisely made. In a word, folly and passion, not less than justice and wisdom, had become enfranchised on the Delaware, and were desperately bent on the exercise of their privileges. Free scope was opened to every whim that enthusiasts might propose as oracles from the skies, to every selfish desire that could lurk under the Quaker garb. But the smiling light of prosperity rose serenely over the little clouds of discontent, and the swelling passions of the young apprentices at legislation died away at the adjournments. To freedom and justice a fair field was given, and they were safe.

The white man agreed with the red man to love one another. Would he love the negro also, and refuse homage from the African! William Penn employed blacks without scruple. His first public act relating to them did but substitute, after fourteen years' service, the severe condition of adscripts to the soil, for that of slaves. At a later day, he endeavored to secure to the African mental and moral culture, the rights and happiness of domestic life. His efforts were not successful, and he himself died a slaveholder. On the subject of negro slavery, the German mind was least enthralled by prejudice, because Germany had never yet participated in the slave trade. The Swedish and German colony of Gustavus Adolphus was designed to rest on free labor. If

the general meeting of the Quakers for a season forbore a positive judgment, already "the poor hearts" from Kirchheim, "the little handful" of German Friends from the highlands above the Rhine, came to the resolution that it was not lawful for Christians to buy or to keep negro slaves.

This decision of the German emigrants on negro slavery, was taken during the lifetime of George Fox, who recognized no distinction of race. "Let your light shine among the Indians, the blacks, and the whites," was his message to Quakers on the Delaware. His heart was with the settlements of which he had been the pioneer; and, a few weeks before his death, he exhorted Friends in America to be the light of the world, the salt to preserve earth from corruption.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FIVE NATIONS.

THE country which, after the reconquest of the New Netherlands, was, in June, 1674, again conveyed to the duke of York, included the New England frontier from the Kennebec to the St. Croix, extended continuously to Connecticut River, and was bounded on the south by Maryland. We have now to trace an attempt to consolidate the whole coast north of the Delaware.

The charter from the king sanctioned whatever ordinances the duke of York or his assigns might establish; and, in regard to justice, revenue, and legislation, Edmund Andros, the governor, was left responsible only to his own conscience and his employer. He was instructed to display all the humanity and gentleness that could consist with arbitrary power, and to use punishments, not from wilful cruelty, but as an instrument of ter-

ror. On the last day of October, he received the surrender of the colony from the representatives of the Dutch, and renewed the absolute authority of the proprietary.

In the summer of 1675, Andros, with armed sloops, proceeded to Connecticut, to vindicate his jurisdiction as far as the river. On the first alarm, William Leet, the aged deputy-governor, one of the first seven pillars of the church of Guilford, educated in England as a lawyer, a rigid republican, hospitable even to regicides, convened the assembly. A proclamation was unanimously voted, and forwarded by express to Bull, the captain of the company on whose firmness the independence of the little colony rested. It arrived just as Andros, hoisting the king's flag, demanded the surrender of Saybrook Fort. Immediately the English colors were raised within the fortress. Despairing of victory, Andros attempted persuasion. Having been allowed to land with his personal retinue, he assumed authority, and, in the king's name, ordered the duke's patent, with his own commission, to be read. In the king's name, he was commanded to desist; and Andros was overawed by the fishermen and farmers who formed the colonial troops. Their proclamation he called a slender affair, and an ill requital for his intended kindness. The Saybrook militia, escorting him to his boat, saw him sail for Long Island: and Connecticut, resenting the aggression, transmitted a declaration of its wrongs to the neighboring plantations.

In New York itself Andros was hardly more welcome than at Saybrook; for the obedient servant of the duke of York discouraged every mention of assemblies, and levied customs without the consent of the people. But, since the Puritans of Long Island claimed a representative government as an inalienable English birthright, and the whole population opposed the ruling system as a tyranny, the governor, who was personally free from vicious dispositions, in 1676, advised his master to concede legislative franchises.

James put his whole character into his reply to Andros, which is as follows:—

“I cannot but suspect assemblies would be of dangerous consequence; nothing being more known than the aptness of such bodies to assume to themselves many privileges which prove destructive to, or very often disturb, the peace of government, when they are allowed. Neither do I see any use for them.”

In November, some months after the province of Sagadahock, that is, Maine beyond the Kennebec, had been protected by a fort and a considerable garrison, Andros hastened to England; but he could not give eyes to the duke; and, on his return, in 1678, he was ordered to continue the duties which, at the surrender, had been established for three years. In the next year, the revenue was a little increased. Yet it should be added, that the taxes were hardly three per cent. on imports, and really insufficient to meet the expenses of the colony. As in the days of Lovelace, the province was “a terrestrial Canaan. The inhabitants were blessed in their basket and their store.” The Island of New York may, in 1678, have contained not far from three thousand inhabitants; in the whole colony there could not have been far from twenty thousand. Ministers were scarce, but welcome, and religions many; the poor were relieved, and beggars unknown. The exports were land productions—wheat, lumber, tobacco—and peltry from the Indians. In the community, composed essentially of farmers, great equality of condition prevailed; there were but “few merchants,” “few servants, and very few slaves.” But still there was wanting to the people the power to govern themselves. Discontent created, in 1681, a popular convention, and, in spite of arbitrary imprisonments, the purpose of the yeomanry remained unshaken.

The government of New York was quietly maintained over the settlements south and west of the Delaware, till they were granted to Penn; over the Jerseys Andros claimed a paramount authority. We have seen the

Quakers refer the contest for decision to an English commission.

In East New Jersey, Philip Carteret, as the deputy of Sir George, in 1675, resumed the government, and, gaining popularity by postponing the payment of quit-rents, confirmed liberty of conscience with representative government. A direct trade with England, unencumbered by customs, was encouraged. The commerce of New York was endangered by the competition; and, disregarding a second patent from the duke of York, Andros, in 1678, claimed that the ships of New Jersey should pay tribute at Manhattan. After long altercations, and the arrest of Carteret, terminated only by the honest verdict of a New York jury, Andros again entered New Jersey in 1680, to intimidate its assembly by the royal patent to the duke. "We are the representatives of the freeholders of this province;" — such was the answer of the assembly; — "his majesty's patent, though under the great seal, we dare not grant to be our rule or joint safety; for the great charter of England, alias Magna Charta, is the only rule, privilege, and joint safety of every free-born Englishman."

The firmness of the legislature preserved the independence of New Jersey; the decision of Sir William Jones protected its people against arbitrary taxation; its prosperity sprung from the miseries of Scotland. The trustees of Sir George Carteret, tired of the burden of colonial property, exposed their province to sale; and the unappropriated domain, with jurisdiction over the five thousand already planted on the soil, was, in February, 1682, purchased by an association of twelve Quakers, under the auspices of William Penn. A brief account of the province was immediately published; and settlers were allured by a reasonable eulogy on its healthful climate and safe harbors, its fisheries and abundant game, its forests and fertile soil, and the large liberties established for the encouragement of adventurers. In 1682, possession was taken by Thomas Rudyard, as governor or agent for the purchasers; the happy coun-

try seemed rich in natural resources beyond its neighbors, and was already tenanted by a sober, professing people. Meantime the twelve proprietors selected each a partner; and, in March, 1683, to the twenty-four, among whom was the timorous, cruel, iniquitous Perth, afterwards chancellor of Scotland, and the amiable, learned, and ingenious Barclay, a new and latest patent of East New Jersey was granted by the duke of York. From Scotland the largest emigration was expected; and, in 1685, an argument was addressed to its people in favor of removing to a country where there was room for a man to flourish without wronging his neighbor. "It is judged the interest of the government" — such was the address of George Scot of Pitlochie to his countrymen, just before he himself, with his family, and a company of nearly two hundred, embarked for the province — "to suppress Presbyterian principles altogether; the whole force of the law of this kingdom is levelled at the effectual bearing them down. The rigorous putting these laws in execution hath in a great part ruined many of those who, notwithstanding thereof, find themselves in conscience obliged to retain these principles. A retreat, where, by law, a toleration is allowed, doth at present offer itself in America, and is nowhere else to be found in his majesty's dominions."

This is the era at which East New Jersey, till now chiefly colonized from New England, became the asylum of Scottish Presbyterians. Who has not heard of the ruthless crimes by which the Stuarts attempted to plant Episcopacy in Scotland, on the ruins of Calvinism, and extirpate the faith of a whole people? The sincerity of Scot is proved.

Is it strange, that, in the next years, many Scottish Presbyterians of virtue, education, and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, came to East New Jersey in such numbers as to give to the rising commonwealth a character which a century and a half has not effaced? The country had for its governor for life the gentle Robert Barclay. His

deputy was, in 1683, the diligent Gawen Laurie, a Quaker merchant from London, who afterwards, in 1686, was superseded by Lord Neil Campbell, himself a proprietary. When Campbell withdrew, the executive power, weakened by transfers, was intrusted by him to Andrew Hamilton. The territory, easy of access from its extended seaboard, its bays and rivers, flanked on the west by the safe outposts of the peaceful Quakers, was the abode of peace and abundance, of deep religious faith, and of honest industry. In a few years, a law of the commonwealth, giving force to the common principle of the New England and the Scottish Calvinists, established a system of free schools. It was "a gallant, plentiful" country; the humblest laborer might soon turn farmer for himself. In all the borders of the colony, said Gawen Laurie, "there is not a poor body, or one that wants."

Thus the mixed character of New Jersey springs from the different sources of its people. Puritans, Covenanters, and Quakers, met on her soil; and their faith, institutions, and preferences, having life in the common mind, outlive the Stuarts.

Every thing breathed hope except the cupidity of the duke of York and his commissioners. They still struggled to levy a tax on the commerce of New Jersey. Failing to do so, they sought, by a *quo warranto*, to abrogate the charter. But the proprietaries, to secure their ownership of the soil, in April, 1688, consented to surrender their claim to the jurisdiction; the process was stayed, and the province annexed to New York.

In New York, the attempt to raise a revenue without a colonial assembly had failed. All parties joined in soliciting for the people a share in legislation; and Thomas Dongan, a Papist, who, in 1683, came over as governor, brought with him instructions from the duke of York to grant their request.

Thus, after long effort, on the seventeenth day of October, 1683, about seventy years after Manhattan was

first occupied, about thirty years after the demand of the popular convention by the Dutch, the representatives of the people met in assembly ; and their self-established "CHARTER OF LIBERTIES" gave New York a place by the side of Virginia and Massachusetts.

"Supreme legislative power" — such was its declaration — "shall forever be and reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly. Every freeholder and freeman shall vote for representation without restraint. No freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers ; and all trials shall be by a jury of twelve men. No tax shall be assessed, on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly. No seaman or soldier shall be quartered on the inhabitants against their will. No martial law shall exist. No person, professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall at any time be any ways disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion."

But the hope of a permanent representative government was to be deferred. It shows the true character of James, that, on gaining power by ascending the English throne, he immediately threw down the institutions which he had conceded. A direct tax was decreed by an ordinance ; the titles to real estate were questioned, that larger fees and quitrents might be extorted ; and of the farmers of Easthampton who protested against the tyranny, six were arraigned before the council.

While the liberties of New York were thus sequestered by a monarch who desired to imitate the despotism of France, its frontiers had no protection against encroachments from Canada, except in the valor of the Iroquois. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, the Five Nations, dwelling near the river and the lakes that retain their names, formed a confederacy of equal tribes. The union of three of the nations precedes tradition ; the Oneidas and Senecas were younger associates. Each nation was a sovereign republic, divided again into clans, between which a

slight subordination was scarcely perceptible. The clansmen dwelt in fixed places of abode, surrounded by fields of beans and of maize; each castle, like a New England town or a Saxon hundred, constituted a little democracy. The union was confirmed by an unwritten compact; the congress of the sachems, at Onondaga, transacted all common business. Authority resided in opinion, law in oral tradition. Honor and esteem enforced obedience; shame and contempt punished offenders. The leading warrior was elected by the general confidence in his virtue and conduct; merit alone could obtain preferment to office; and power was as permanent as the esteem of the tribe. No profit was attached to eminent station, to tempt the sordid. As their brave men went forth to war, instead of martial instruments, they were cheered by the clear voice of their leader. On the smooth surface of a tree from which the outer bark had been peeled, they painted their deeds of valor by the simplest symbols. These were their trophies and their annals; these and their war songs preserved the memory of their heroes. They proudly deemed themselves supreme among mankind—men excelling all others; and hereditary arrogance inspired their young men with dauntless courage. The geographical position of their fixed abodes, including within their immediate sway the headlands, not of the Hudson only, but of the rivers that flow to the Gulfs of Mexico and St. Lawrence, the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, opened widest regions to their canoes, and invited them to make their war-paths along the channels where New York and Pennsylvania are now perfecting the avenues of commerce.

But the Five Nations had defied a prouder enemy. At the commencement of the administration of Dongan, the European population of New France, which, in 1679, amounted to eight thousand five hundred and fifteen souls, may have been a little more than ten thousand; the number of men capable of bearing arms was perhaps three thousand, about the number of warriors

of the Five Nations. But the Iroquois were freemen; New France suffered from despotism and monopoly. The Iroquois recruited their tribes by adopting captives of foreign nations; New France was sealed against the foreigner and the heretic. For nearly fourscore years, hostilities had prevailed, with few interruptions. Thrice did Champlain invade the country of the Mohawks, till he was driven with wounds and disgrace from their wilderness fastnesses. The Five Nations, in return, at the period of the massacre in Virginia, attempted the destruction of New France. Though repulsed, they continued to defy the province and its allies, and, in 1637, under the eyes of its governor, openly intercepted canoes destined for Quebec. The French authority was not confirmed by founding a feeble outpost at Montreal; and Fort Richelieu, raised in 1642, at the mouth of the Sorel, scarce protected its immediate environs. Negotiations for peace led to no permanent result; and even the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, the most faithful, disinterested, and persevering of their order, could not permanently restrain the sanguinary vengeance of the barbarians. The Iroquois warriors scoured every wilderness, to lay it still more waste; they thirsted for the blood of the few men who roamed over the regions between Huron, Erie, and Ontario. In 1649, depopulating the whole country on the Ottawa, they obtained an acknowledged superiority over New France, mitigated only by commercial relations of the French traders with the tribes that dwelt farthest from the Hudson. The colony was still in perpetual danger; and, in 1660, Quebec itself was besieged.

On a winter's invasion of the country of the Mohawks, in 1636, the savages disappeared, leaving their European adversaries to war with the wilderness. By degrees the French made firmer advances; and, in 1672, a fort built at the outlet of Ontario, for the purpose, as was pretended, of having a convenient place for treaties, commanded the commerce of the lake.

The English, on recovering the banks of the Hudson,

gave new attention to Indian affairs, and, by the confidence with which their friendship inspired the Iroquois, increased the dangers that hovered over New France. From the French traders who were restrained by a strict monopoly, the wild hunters of beaver turned to the English, who favored competition; and their mutual ties were strengthened by an amnesty of past injuries.

Along the war-paths of the Five Nations, down the Susquehannah, and near the highlands of Virginia, the proud Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga warriors had left bloody traces of their presence. The impending struggle with New France quickened the desire of renewing peace with the English: and, in July 1684, the deputies from the Mohawks and the three offending tribes, soon joined by the Senecas, met the governors of New York and Virginia at Albany.

To the complaints and the pacific proposals of Lord Howard of Effingham, Cadianne, the Mohawk orator, replied:—

“Great sachem of Virginia, these three beaver-skins are a token of our gladness that your heart is softened; these two, of our joy, that the axe is to be buried. We are glad that you will bury in the pit what is past. Let the earth be trod hard over it: let a strong stream run under the pit, to wash the evil away out of our sight and remembrance, so that it never may be dugged up.”

At the conclusion of the treaty, each of the three offending nations gave a hatchet to be buried. “We bury none for ourselves,” said the Mohawks, “for we have never broken the ancient chain.”

The envoys of the Senecas soon arrived, and expressed their delight, that the tomahawk was already buried, and all evil put away from the hearts of the English sachems. On the same day, a messenger from De la Barre, the governor-general of New France, appeared at Albany. But his complaints were unheeded. The sachems returned to nail the arms of the duke of York over their castles—a protection, as they thought,

against the French — an acknowledgment, as the English deemed, of British sovereignty.

Meantime the rash and confident De la Barre, with six hundred French soldiers, four hundred Indian allies, four hundred carriers, and three hundred men for a garrison, advanced to the fort which stood near the outlet of the present Rideau Canal. But the unhealthy exhalations of August on the marshy borders of Ontario disabled his army; and, after crossing the lake, and disembarking his wasted troops in the land of the Onondagas, he was compelled to solicit peace from the tribes whom he had designed to exterminate. The Mohawks, at the request of Dongan, refused to negotiate; but the other nations desired to secure independence by balancing the French against the English. An Onondaga chief called Heaven to witness his resentment at English interference. "Neither Onondio, the great sachem of Canada, nor Corlaer, the great sachem of New York, is our master. He who made the world gave us the land in which we dwell. We are free. You call us subjects; we say we are brethren; we must take care of ourselves." And, peace having been concluded on terms humiliating to the French, the governor of Canada retreated, leaving his Algonquin allies exposed to the inroads of their enemies.

Meantime fresh troops arrived from France, and, in 1685, De la Barre was superseded by Denonville, an officer whose tried valor and active zeal were enhanced by prudence and sagacity. But blind obedience paralyzes conscience and enslaves reason; and quiet pervaded neither the Five Nations nor the English provinces.

For the defence of New France, a fort was to be established at Niagara. The design, which aimed to control the dominion and trade of the upper lakes, was resisted by Dongan; for, it was said, the country south of the lakes, the whole domain of the Iroquois, is subject to England. Thus began the long contest for territory in the west. The limits between the English and French never were settled; but, for the present, the

Five Nations, of themselves, were a sufficient bulwark against encroachments from Canada: and in the summer of 1686, a party of English traders, favored by the Senecas, penetrated even to Michilimackinac.

“The welfare of my service” — such were the instructions of Louis XIV. to the governor of New France — “requires that the number of the Iroquois should be diminished as much as possible. They are strong and robust, and can be made useful as galley-slaves. Do what you can to take a large number of them prisoners of war, and ship them for France.” By open hostilities, no captives could be made; and, in 1687, Lamberville, the missionary among the Onondagas, was unconsciously employed to decoy the Iroquois chiefs into the fort on Ontario. Invited to negotiate a treaty, they assemble without distrust, are surprised, put in irons, hurried to Quebec, and thence to Europe; and the warrior hunters of the Five Nations, who used to roam from Hudson’s Bay to Carolina, were chained to the oar in the galleys of Marseilles.

Meantime the old men of the Onondagas summoned Lamberville to their presence. “We have much reason,” said an aged chief, “to treat thee as an enemy, but we know thee too well. Thou hast betrayed us; but treason was not in thy heart. Fly, therefore, for when our young braves shall have sung their war-song, they will listen to no voice but the swelling voice of their anger.” And trusty guides conducted the missionary through by-paths into a place of security. The noble forbearance was due to the counsel of Garon-konthié.

An incursion into the country of the Senecas followed. The savages retired into remoter forests; of the country which was overrun without resistance, possession was taken by the French, and a fort erected at Niagara. France seemed to have gained firm possession of Western New York. But as the French army withdrew, the wilderness remained to its old inhabitants. The Senecas, in their turn, made a descent upon

their still feebler enemy; and the Onondagas threatened war. "Onondio has stolen our sachems; he has broken," said they, "the covenant of peace;" and Dongan, at the solicitation of the French, offered himself as mediator, but only on condition that the kidnapped chiefs should be ransomed, the fort in the Iroquois country razed, and the spoils of the Senecas restored.

The negotiations fail; and, in 1688, Haaskouaun, the Seneca chief, advances with five hundred warriors to dictate the terms of peace. "I have always loved the French," said the proud chieftain to the foes whom he scorned. "Our warriors proposed to come and burn your forts, your houses, your granges, and your corn; to weaken you by famine, and then to overwhelm you. I am come to tell Onondio he can escape this misery, if within four days he will yield to the terms which Corlaer has proposed."

Twelve hundred Iroquois were already on Lake St. Francis; in two days they could reach Montreal. The haughty condescension of the Seneca chief was accepted, the ransom of the Iroquois chiefs conceded, and the whole country south of the lakes rescued from the dominion of Canada. In the chain of events, New York owes its present northern boundary to the valor of the Five Nations. But for them Canada would have embraced the basin of the St. Lawrence.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE NEW ENGLAND REVOLUTION.

DURING these events, James II. had, in a treaty with Louis XIV., made it a condition of amity between the colonies of the two states, that neither should assist the Indian tribes with whom the other might be at war.

Thus did the king of England ignorantly abandon his allies. Yet, with all his faults, James II. had a strong sentiment of English nationality; and, in consolidating the northern colonies, he hoped to engage the energies of New England in defence of the whole English frontier.

The alarm of Massachusetts at the loss of its charter in 1685, had been increased by the news that Kirke, afterwards infamous for military massacres in the west of England, was destined for its governor. It was a relief to find that Joseph Dudley, a degenerate son of the colony, was intrusted for a season with the highest powers of magistracy over the country from Narraganset to Nova Scotia. The general court, in session at his arrival, in May, 1686, dissolved their assembly, and returned in sadness to their homes. The charter government was publicly displaced by the arbitrary commission, popular representation abolished, and the press subjected to the censorship of Randolph.

In December, Sir Edmund Andros, glittering in scarlet and lace, landed at Boston, as governor of all New England. How unlike Penn at Newcastle! He was authorized to remove and appoint members of his council, and, with their consent, to make laws, lay taxes, and control the militia of the country. He was instructed to tolerate no printing-press, to encourage Episcopacy, and to sustain authority by force. From New York came West as secretary; and in the council, four subservient members, of whom but one was a New England man, alone commanded his attention. The other members of the council formed a fruitless but united opposition. "His excellency," said Randolph, "has to do with a perverse people."

A series of measures followed, the most vexatious and tyrannical to which men of English descent were ever exposed. The schools of learning, formerly so well taken care of, were allowed to go to decay. The religious institutions were impaired by abolishing the methods of their support. A town meeting was allowed

only for the choice of town officers. The vote by ballot was rejected. To a committee from Lynn, Andros said plainly, "There is no such thing as a town in the whole country." To assemble in town meeting for deliberation was an act of sedition or a riot. Personal liberty and the customs of the country were disregarded. None might leave the country without a special permit. Probate fees were increased almost twenty-fold. To the scrupulous Puritans, the idolatrous custom of laying the hand on the Bible, in taking an oath, operated as a widely-disfranchising test.

The Episcopal service had never yet been performed within Massachusetts Bay, except by the chaplain of the hated commission of 1635. Its day of liberty was come. In December, 1686, Andros demanded one of the meeting-houses for the church. The wrongs of a century crowded on the memories of the Puritans as they answered, "We cannot with a good conscience consent." Goodman Needham declared he would not ring the bell; but at the appointed hour the bell rung; and the love of liberty did not expire, even though, in a Boston meeting-house, the Common Prayer was read in a surplice. By-and-by, the people were desired to contribute towards erecting a church. "The bishops," answered Sewall, and wisely, "would have thought strange to have been asked to contribute towards setting up New England churches."

At the instance and with the special concurrence of James II., a tax of a penny in the pound, and a poll-tax of twenty pence, with a subsequent increase of duties, were laid by Andros and his council. The towns generally refused payment. Wilbore, of Taunton, was imprisoned for writing a protest. To the people of Ipswich, in town meeting, John Wise, the minister, advised resistance; and he and the selectmen were arraigned before the council. The writ of habeas corpus was withheld. The prisoners pleaded Magna Charta. "Do not think," replied one of the judges, "the laws of England follow you to the ends of the earth." And in his

charge to the packed jury, Dudley spoke plainly: "Worthy gentlemen, we expect a good verdict from you." The verdict followed; and after imprisonment came heavy fines and partial disfranchisements.

Oppression threatened the country with ruin, and the oppressors, quoting an opinion current among the mercantile monopolists of England, answered without disguise, "It is not for his majesty's interest you should thrive."

The taxes, in amount not grievous, were for public purposes. But the lean wolves of tyranny were themselves hungry for spoils. In 1680, Randolph had hinted that "the Bostoneers have no right to government or land, but are usurpers." King James did indeed command, that "their several properties, according to their ancient records," should be granted them; the fee for the grants was the excuse for extortion. "All the inhabitants," wrote Randolph, exultingly, "must take new grants of their lands, which will bring in vast profits." Indeed, there was not money enough in the country to pay the exorbitant fees which were demanded.

The colonists pleaded their charter; but grants under the charter were declared void by its forfeiture. — Lynde, of Charlestown, produced an Indian deed. It was pronounced "worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw." Lands were held, not by a feudal tenure, but under grants from the general court to towns, and from towns to individuals. The town of Lynn produced its records; they were slighted "as not worth a rush." Others pleaded possession and use of the land. "You take possession," it was answered, "for the king." "The men of Massachusetts did much quote Lord Coke;" but, defeated in argument by Andros, who was a good lawyer, John Higginson, minister of Salem, went back from the common law of England to the book of Genesis, and, remembering that God gave the earth to the sons of Adam, to be subdued and replenished, declared that the people of New England held their lands "by the grand charter from God." The

lands reserved for the poor, generally all common lands, were appropriated by favorites; and "the governor invaded liberty and property after such a manner," said the temperate Increase Mather, "as no man could say any thing was his own."

The jurisdiction of Andros, from the first, comprehended all New England. Against the charter of Rhode Island a writ of *quo warranto* had been issued. The judgment against Massachusetts left no hope of protection from the courts, submissive to the royal will; and the government, acting under instructions from the towns, in May, 1686, resolved not "to stand suit," but to appeal to the conscience of the king for the "privileges and liberties granted by Charles II., of blessed memory." Flowers were strown on the tomb of Nero; and the colony of Rhode Island had cause to bless the memory of Charles II. Soon after the arrival of Andros, he demanded the surrender of the charter. Walter Clarke, the governor, insisted on waiting for "a fitter season." Repairing to Rhode Island, in January, 1687, Andros dissolved its government and broke its seal; five of its citizens were appointed members of his council; and a commission, irresponsible to the people, was substituted for the suspended system of freedom. That the magistrates levied moderate taxes, payable in wool or other produce, is evident from the records. It was pretended that the people of Rhode Island were satisfied, and did not so much as petition for their charter again.

In the autumn of the same year, Andros, attended by some of his council, and by an armed guard, set forth for Connecticut, to assume the government of that place. Andros found the assembly in session, and demanded the surrender of its charter. The brave Governor Treat pleaded earnestly for the cherished patent, which had been purchased by sacrifices and martyrdoms, and was endeared by halcyon days. The shades of evening descended during the prolonged discussion; an anxious crowd of farmers had gathered to witness the debate. The charter lay on the table. Of a sudden, the lights

are extinguished; before they are rekindled, the charter has disappeared. William Wadsworth, of Hartford, stealing noiselessly through the opening crowd, concealed the precious parchment in the hollow of an oak, which was older than the colony, and is yet standing to confirm the tale. Meantime Andros assumed the government, selected councillors, and, demanding the records of Connecticut, to the annals of its freedom set the word *FINIS*.

While Connecticut lost its liberties, the eastern frontier was depopulated. An expedition against the French establishments which have left a name to Castine, roused the passions of the neighboring Indians; and Andros, after a short deference to the example of Penn, made a vain pursuit of a retreating enemy, who had for their powerful allies the savage forests and the inclement winter.

Not long after the first excursion to the east, the whole seaboard from Maryland to the St. Croix was united in one extensive despotism. The entire dominion, of which Boston, the largest English town in the New World, was the capital, was abandoned to Andros, its governor-general, and to Randolph, its secretary, with his needy associates. But the impoverished country disappointed avarice. The eastern part of Maine had already been pillaged by agents who had been—it is Randolph's own statement—"as arbitrary as the Grand Turk;" and in New York, also, there was, as Randolph expressed it, "little good to be done," for its people "had been squeezed dry by Dongan." But, on the arrival of the new commission, Andros hastened to the south, to supersede his hated rival, and assume the government of New York and New Jersey.

The spirit which led forth the colonies of New England, kept their liberties alive; in the general gloom, the ministers preached sedition and planned resistance. Once, at least, to the great anger of the governor, they put by thanksgiving; and at private fasts they besought the Lord to repent himself for his servants, whose power

was gone. The enlightened Moody refused to despair, confident that God would yet "be exalted among the heathen."

Yet desperate measures were postponed, that one of the ministers might make an appeal to the king; and Increase Mather, escaping the vigilance of Randolph, was already embarked on the dangerous mission for redress. But relief came from a revolution of which the influence was to pervade the European world.

On the restoration of Charles II., the Puritan or republican element lost all hope of gaining dominion; and the history of England, during its next period, is but the history of the struggle for a compromise between the republican and the monarchical principle. The contest for freedom was continued, yet within limits so narrow as never to endanger the existence, or even question the right, of monarchy itself. The people had attempted a democratic revolution, and had failed; it was now willing to wait, and watch the movements of the property of the country, and, no longer struggling to control events, ranged itself, without enthusiasm, on the side of the more liberal and tolerant party of the nobility. Yet the revolution of 1688 is due to the dissenters quite as much as to the whig aristocracy; to Baxter hardly less than to Shaftesbury. It is the consummation of the collision which, in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward, began between the Churchmen and the Puritans, between those who invoked religion on the side of passive obedience, and those who esteemed religion superior to man, and held resistance to tyranny a Christian duty. If the whig aristocracy looked to the stadtholder of aristocratic Holland as the defender of their privileges, Baxter and the Presbyterians saw in William the Calvinist their tolerant avenger.

But the easy issue of the contest grew out of a division in the monarchical party itself. James II. could not comprehend the value of freedom, or the obligation of law. The writ of habeas corpus he esteemed inconsistent with monarchy, and "a great misfortune to the peo-

ple." A standing army, and the terrors of corrupt tribunals, were his dependence; the pupil of Turenne delighted in military parades; the Catholic convert, swayed by his confessor, dispensed with the laws, multiplied Catholic chapels, rejoiced in the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and sought to intrust civil and military power to the hands of Roman Catholics. After vainly attempting to win the favor of the Church of England, it became the object of his implacable hatred. "Her day of grace was past." The royal favor was withheld, that it might silently waste and dissolve like snows in spring. To diminish its numbers, and apparently from no other motive, he granted equal franchises to every sect; to the powerful Calvinists and to the "puny" Quakers, to Anabaptists and Independents, and "all the wild increase" which unsatisfied inquiry could generate. The bishops were imprisoned, because they would not publish in their churches the declaration, of which the purpose was their defeat. On the birth of a son to James II., the Church of England itself set the example of rebellion, and Tories took the lead in inviting the prince of Orange to save the religion of the state; the whigs joined to rescue the privileges of the nobility; the Presbyterians rushed eagerly into the only safe avenue to toleration; the people quietly acquiesced. King James was left alone in his palace. His terrified priests escaped to the continent; his confidential friends betrayed him; his daughter Anne, pleading conscience, proved herself one of his worst enemies. "God help me!" exclaimed the disconsolate father, bursting into tears, "my very children have forsaken me;" and, paralyzed by the imbecility of doubt, he fled beyond the sea. Aided by falsehoods, the prince of Orange, without striking a blow, ascended the throne of his father-in-law; and Mary, by whose letters James had been lulled into security, came over exultingly to occupy the throne, the palace, and the bed of her father, and sequester the inheritance of her brother.

Thus were the rights of Englishmen rescued from

danger; thus did Protestant liberty, after a long struggle, achieve its triumph, and put an end forever to absolute power in England, in the state and over mind.

The rejoicing aristocracy desired to give immortality to their privileges. Humanity was present also, and rejoiced at the redemption of English liberties; she reproved the unnatural conduct of daughters who drove their father into poverty and exile; she sighed for the Roman Catholics who were oppressed, for the dissenters who were but tolerated; and as, on the evening of the long struggle which had been bequeathed by Rogers and Hooper, and had lasted more than a century and a half, she selected a resting-place, it was but to gather strength, with the fixed purpose of renewing her journey on the dawn of morning.

The great news of the invasion of England, and the declaration of the prince of Orange, reached Boston on the fourth day of April, 1689. The messenger was immediately imprisoned; but his message could not be suppressed; and "the preachers had already matured the evil design" of a revolution; for the events that followed were "not a violent passion of the rabble, but a long-contrived piece of wickedness."

"There is a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their old charter, or they know not what;" — such was the ominous message of Andros to Brockholt, with orders that the soldiers should be ready for action.

About nine o'clock of the morning of the eighteenth, just as George, the commander of the *Rose* frigate, stepped on shore, Green and the Boston ship-carpenters gathered about him, and made him a prisoner. The town took the alarm. The royalist sheriff hastened to quiet the multitude, and the multitude secured him as their prisoner; and then they went to the major of the regiment, and demanded colors and drums. He resisted; they threatened. The crowd increased; companies form under Nelson, Foster, Waterhouse, their old officers; and already, at ten, they seize Bullivant, Fox-

croft, and Ravenscraft. Boys ran along the streets with clubs; the drums beat: the governor, with his creatures, resisted in council, withdrew to the fort to desire a conference with the ministers and two or three more. The conference was declined. All the companies soon rallied at the town-house. Just then, the last governor of the colony, in office when the charter was abrogated, Simon Bradstreet — venerable with fourscore years and seven, one of the early emigrants, a magistrate in 1639, whose experience connected the oldest generation with the new — drew near the town-house, and was received by a great shout from the freemen. The old magistrates were reinstated, as a council of safety; the town rose in arms, “with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people;” and a Declaration, read from the balcony, defended the insurrection as a duty to God and the country. “We commit our enterprise,” it was added, “to Him who hears the cry of the oppressed, and advise all our neighbors, for whom we have thus ventured ourselves, to join with us in prayers and all just actions for the defence of the land.”

On Charlestown side, a thousand soldiers crowded together; and the multitude would have been larger if needed. The governor, vainly attempting to escape to the frigate, was, with his adherents, compelled to seek protection by submission: through the streets where he had first displayed his scarlet coat and arbitrary commission, he and his fellows were marched to the town-house, and thence to prison.

On the next day, the country came swarming across the Charlestown and Chelsea ferries, headed by Shepherd, a schoolmaster of Lynn. All the cry was against Andros and Randolph. The castle was taken; the frigate was mastered; the fortifications were occupied.

How should a new government be instituted? Town meetings, before news had arrived of the proclamation of William and Mary, were held throughout the colony. Of fifty-four towns, forty certainly, probably more,

voted to reassume the old charter. Representatives were chosen; and Massachusetts once more, in May, 1689, assembled in general court.

It is but a short ride from Boston to Plymouth. Already, on the twenty-second of April, Nathaniel Clark, the agent of Andros, was in jail; Hinckley resumed the government, and the children of the Pilgrims renewed the constitution which had been unanimously signed in the Mayflower. But not one of the fathers of the Old Colony remained alive. The days of the Pilgrims were over, and a new generation possessed the soil.

The royalists had pretended that "the Quaker grandees" of Rhode Island had imbibed nothing of Quakerism but its indifference to forms, and did not even desire a restoration of the charter. On May-day, their usual election-day, the inhabitants and freemen poured into Newport; and the whole "democracie" published to the world their gratitude "to the good providence of God, which had wonderfully supported their predecessors and themselves through more than ordinary difficulties and hardships." "We take it to be our duty"—thus they continue—"to lay hold of our former gracious privileges, in our charter contained." And, by a unanimous vote, the officers whom Andros had displaced were confirmed. But Walter Clarke wavered. For nine months there was no acknowledged chief magistrate. The assembly, in February, 1690, accepting Clarke's disclaimer, elected Almy. Again excuse was made. All eyes turned to one of the old Antinomian exiles, the more than octogenarian, Henry Bull; and the fearless Quaker, true to the light within, employed the last glimmerings of life to restore the democratic charter of Rhode Island. Once more its free government is organized: its seal is renewed; the symbol, an anchor; the motto, HOPE.

Massachusetts rose in arms, and perfected its revolution without concert; "the amazing news did soon fly like lightning;" and the people of Connecticut spurned the government which Andros had appointed, and

which they had always feared it was a sin to obey. The charter, discolored, but not effaced, was taken from its hiding-place; an assembly was convened; and, in spite of the *Fixis* of Andros, new chapters were begun in the records of freedom. Suffolk county, on Long Island, rejoined Connecticut.

New York also shared the impulse, but with less unanimity. "The Dutch plot" was matured by Jacob Leisler, a man of energy, but passionate and ill-educated, and not possessed of that happy natural sagacity which elicits a rule of action from its own instincts. But the common people among the Dutch, led by Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne, insisted on proclaiming the stadtholder king of England.

In New Jersey there was no insurrection. The inhabitants were unwilling to invoke the interference of the proprietaries. There is no reason to doubt, that in the several towns, officers were chosen, as before, by the inhabitants themselves, to regulate all local affairs; while the provincial government, as established by James II., fell with Andros. We have already seen that Maryland had perfected a revolution, in which Protestant intolerance, as well as popular liberty, had acted its part. The passions of the Mohawks, also, are kindled by the certain prospect of an ally; they chant their loudest war-song, and prepare to descend on Montreal.

Thus did a popular insurrection, beginning at Boston, extend to the Chesapeake, and to the wilderness. This New England revolution "made a great noise in the world." Its object was Protestant liberty; and William and Mary, the Protestant sovereigns, were proclaimed with rejoicings such as America had never before known in its intercourse with England.

Thus have we traced, almost exclusively from contemporary documents and records, the colonization of the twelve oldest states of our Union. At the period of the great European revolution of 1688, they contained not very many beyond two hundred thousand

inhabitants, of whom MASSACHUSETTS, with Plymouth and Maine, may have had forty-four thousand; NEW HAMPSHIRE and RHODE ISLAND, with Providence, each six thousand; CONNECTICUT, from seventeen to twenty thousand; that is, all New England, seventy-five thousand souls; — NEW YORK, not less than twenty thousand; NEW JERSEY, half as many; PENNSYLVANIA and DELAWARE, perhaps twelve thousand; MARYLAND, twenty-five thousand; VIRGINIA, fifty thousand, or more; and the two CAROLINAS, which then included the soil of Georgia, probably not less than eight thousand souls.

The emigration of the fathers of these commonwealths, with the planting of the principles on which they rested, though, like the introduction of Christianity into Rome, but little regarded by contemporary writers, was the most momentous event of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SOUTH AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

THE Stuarts passed from the throne of England. Their family, distinguished by a blind resistance to popular opinion, was no less distinguished by misfortunes. During the period of their separate sovereignty over Scotland, but one of the race escaped a violent death. The first of them who aspired to the crown of Great Britain was by an English monarch doomed to death on the scaffold; her grandson was beheaded in the name of the English people. The next in the line, long a needy exile, is remembered chiefly for his vices; and, as if a domestic crime could alone avenge the national wrongs, James II. was reduced from royalty to beggary by the conspiracy of his own children. Yet the New World has monuments of the Stuarts; North America acquired

its British colonies during their rule, and towns, rivers, headlands, and even states, bear their names. The pacific disposition of James I. promoted the settlement of Virginia; a timely neglect fostered New England; the favoritism of Charles I. opened the way for religious liberty in Maryland; Rhode Island long cherished the charter which its importunity won from Charles II.; the honest friendship of James II. favored the grants which gave liberties to Pennsylvania, and extended them to Delaware; the crimes of the dynasty banished to our country men of learning, virtue, and fortitude. Thus did despotism render benefits to freedom. "The wisdom of God," as John Knox had predicted, "compelled the very malice of Satan, and such as were drowned in sin, to serve to his glory and the profit of his elect."

Four hundred and seventy-four years after the barons at Runnymede had extorted Magna Charta from their legitimate king, the aristocratic revolution of 1688 established for England and its dominions the sovereignty of parliament and the supremacy of law.

To the English people, the change was the source of hope: the colonies could not fail to perceive that, as the revolution of 1688 had been made for the rights of Englishmen, not for the rights of man, so, in its external policy, the dominant motive was the interest of England, and not the reciprocity of justice.

To the proprietaries of Carolina the respect of the revolution for vested rights secured their possessions. The statute book of South Carolina attests the moderation and liberality of the insurrectionary government, which now came to an end. Factions multiplied in a colony which had as yet gained no moral unity. The legal sovereigns would not expend their private fortunes in reducing their insurgent liegemen: the colonial oligarchy, which they favored, was too feeble a minority to conduct the government; and the people were forbidden by law to take care of themselves. To this were added the evils of an uncertain boundary on the south, and of disordered finances.

After an inquiry into grievances, by Philip Ludwell, a concession followed. In April, 1693, the proprietaries voted, "that, as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and for the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request." So perished the legislation of Shaftesbury and Locke. It had been promulgated as immortal, and, having never gained life in the colony, was, within a quarter of a century, abandoned by the proprietaries themselves. Palatines, landgraves, and caciques, "the nobility" of the Carolina statute book, were doomed to pass away.

On the advice of Thomas Smith, it was resolved, in 1694, that one of the proprietaries should visit Carolina, with ample powers alike of inquiry and of redress. The advice pleased; and the grandson of Shaftesbury, the pupil and antagonist of Locke, was elected dictator. He declined; and the choice fell upon John Archdale, an honest member of the society of Friends.

The disputes in South Carolina had grown out of the selfish zeal of a High Church oligarchy, sustained by the proprietaries, in opposition to the great body of the freemen. Now the peaceful Archdale, who, in 1695, became the mediator between the factions, was himself, as a dissenter, pledged to freedom of conscience. Yet his powers permitted him to infuse candor into his administration, rather than into the constitution of Carolina. By selecting for the council two men of the moderate party to one High Churchman, he preserved the balance of power in harmony with colonial opinion. By remitting quitrents for three and for four years, by regulating the price of land and the form of conveyances, by giving the planter the option of paying quitrents in money or in the products of the country, he quieted the jarrings between the colonists and their feudal sovereigns. To cultivate friendship with the Indians, he established a board to decide all contests between them and the white men. With the Spaniards at St. Augustine friendly relations

sprung up; for a Quaker could respect the faith of a Papist.

The fame of Carolina, the American Canaan, that flowed with milk and honey, began to spread. The industrious Scotch, zealous alike for liberty and property, were soon to be attracted. In 1696, New England men were allured to the region that now "stood circumstanced with the honor of a true English government, zealous for the increase of virtue, as well as outward trade and business." And the representatives of the freemen of the colony declared that Archdale, "by his wisdom, patience, and labor, had laid a firm foundation for a most glorious superstructure."

In 1697, after the return of the Quaker legislator, the Huguenots were enfranchised by the colonial legislature. Liberty of conscience was also conferred on all Christians, with the exception of Papists.

But the colonial oligarchy looked for favor to an exclusive religion of state. In 1704, "the High Churchmen," having, by the arts of Nathaniel Moore, obtained a majority of one in an assembly representing a colony of which two thirds were dissenters, abruptly disfranchised them all, and, after the English precedent, gave to the Church of England a monopoly of political power.

The dissenters, excluded from the colonial legislature, rejected with contumely by the proprietaries, appealed to the house of lords, where the spirit of Somers prevailed. In 1706, an address to the queen, in behalf of the dissenters of Carolina, was adopted; the lords of trade and plantations reported that the proprietaries had forfeited their charter, and advised its recall by a judicial process; the intolerant acts were, by royal authority, declared null and void. In November of the same year, they were repealed by the colonial assembly; but, while dissenters were tolerated, and could share political power, the Church of England was immediately established as the religion of the province.

This compromise continued till the revolution. Meantime the authority of the proprietaries was tainted by

the declaration of the queen, and the opinion of English lawyers, and awaited only an opportunity to expire.

This period of turbulence and insurrection, of angry factions and popular excitements, was nevertheless a period of prosperity. The country rapidly increased in population and the value of its exports. The prolific rice-plant had, at a very early period, been introduced from Madagascar; in 1691, the legislature was already busy in rewarding the invention of new methods for cleansing it; its culture steadily increased; and the rice of Carolina was esteemed the best in the world. Hence the opulence of the colony; hence, also, its swarms of negro slaves. The profits of the rice-fields tempted the planter to enlarge his domains, and Africa furnished laborers.

The cereal grains were ill adapted to the sands near the sea, or the alluvial swamps. The woods were more inviting. Early in the eighteenth century, the Carolina Indian trader had penetrated a thousand miles into the interior. The skins of bears, beaver, wildcats, deer, foxes, and raccoons, invited commerce. The oak was cleft into staves for the West Indies: the trunk of the pine was valued for masts, boards, and joists; its juices yielded turpentine; from the same tree, when dry, fire extracted tar.

But naval stores were still more the produce of North Carolina, where, as yet, slaves were very few, and the lonely planters, under their mild sky, mingled a leisurely industry with the use of the fowling-piece. While the world was set on fire by wars of unparalleled extent, the unpolished inhabitants of North Carolina multiplied and spread in the enjoyment of the highest personal liberty. Seventy years after its origin, Spotswood describes it as "a country where there is scarce any form of government;" and it long continued to be said, with but slight exaggeration, that "in Carolina, every one did what was right in his own eyes, paying tribute neither to God nor to Cæsar."

In such a country, which was almost an utter stran-

ger to any public worship, the pious zeal or the bigotry of the proprietaries, in 1704, selecting Robert Daniel, the deputy-governor, as the fit instrument, resolved on establishing the Church of England. The legislature, chosen without reference to this end, after much opposition, acceded to the design ; and further enacted that no one, who would not take the oath prescribed by law, should hold a place of trust in the colony. But the laws could not be enforced. The Quakers, led by their faith, were foremost in opposition.

In 1705, on a vacancy in the office of governor, anarchy prevailed. "The North had been usually governed by a deputy, appointed by the governor of South Carolina," and Thomas Cary obtained a commission in the wonted form. The proprietaries disapproved the appointment, and gave leave to the little oligarchy of their own deputies to elect the chief magistrate. Their choice fell on William Glover ; and the colony was forthwith rent with divisions. On the one side were Churchmen and royalists, the immediate friends of the proprietaries ; on the other, the Quakers and other dissenters, and the majority of the people. Neither party could entirely prevail. The one wanted a legal sanction, the other popular favor. To restore order, in 1710, Edward Hyde was despatched to govern the province ; but he could show no evidence of his right, except private letters from the proprietaries ; and "the respect due to his birth could avail nothing on that mutinous people." Affairs grew worse than ever. "The spirit of Quakerism appeared" in an open disobedience to unjust laws : Cary and some of his friends took up arms ; it was rumored that they were ready for an alliance with the Indians ; and Spotswood, an experienced soldier, now governor of Virginia, was summoned by Hyde as an ally. The loyalty of the veteran was embarrassed. He might almost as well have undertaken a military expedition against foxes and raccoons, or have attempted to enforce religious uniformity among the conies, as employ methods of invasion against a people whose dwellings

were so sheltered by creeks, so hidden by forests, so protected by solitudes. Cary, and the leaders of his party, in 1711, boldly appeared in Virginia, for the purpose, as they said, of appealing to England in defence of their actions. Thus there was little hope of harmony between the proprietaries and the people of North Carolina.

But here, as elsewhere in America, this turbulence of freedom did not check the increase of population. Notwithstanding the contradictory accounts, the province, from its first permanent settlement by white men, has constantly been advancing, and seems always to have exceeded South Carolina in numbers. Between the Trent and the Neuse, emigrants from Switzerland began the settlement of New Berne. Germans, also, fugitives from the devastated Palatinate, found a home in the same vicinity. In these early days, few negroes were introduced into the colony. Its trade was chiefly engrossed by New England. The increasing expenses of the government amounted, in 1714, to nine hundred pounds. The net revenue from sales of land and quitrents was but one hundred and sixty-nine pounds, or twenty guineas to each proprietary. Such was the profit from the ownership of a wilderness.

For Virginia, the revolution gave to her liberties the regularity of law; in other respects, the character of her people and the forms of her government were not changed. The first person who, in the reign of King William, entered the Ancient Dominion as lieutenant-governor, was the same Francis Nicholson who, in the days of King James, had been the deputy of Andros for the provinces of the north, and had been expelled from New York by the insurgent people; and, in 1692, his successor was Andros himself, fresh from imprisonment in Massachusetts. The earlier administration of the ardent but narrow-minded Nicholson was signalized by the establishment of the college of William and Mary, — the first fruits of the revolution, in age second only to Harvard, — at the instance of the learned and persevering

commissary Blair, whose zeal for future generations was aided by subscriptions, by a gift of quitrents from the king, by an endowment from the royal domain, and by a tax of a penny a pound on tobacco exported to other plantations.

The powers of the governor were exorbitant; he was at once lieutenant-general and admiral, lord treasurer and chancellor, the chief judge in all courts, president of the council, and bishop, or ordinary; so that the armed force, the revenue, the interpretation of law, the administration of justice, the church, — all were under his control or guardianship.

The checks on his power existed in his instructions, in the council, and in the general assembly. But the instructions were kept secret; and, besides, they rather confirmed his prerogatives. The members of the council owed their appointment to his recommendation, their continuance to his pleasure, and, moreover, looked to him for advancement to places of profit. The assembly was restrained by the prospect of a negative from the governor and from the crown, was compelled to solicit the concurrence of the council, was exposed to influence from royal patronage, was watched in its actions by a clerk whom the governor appointed, and was always sure of being dissolved if complaints began to grow loud or opposition too ardent. It had, moreover, lost the method of resistance best suited to the times, since, in addition to quitrents, a former legislature had already established a perpetual revenue.

Yet the people of Virginia still found methods of nourishing the spirit of independence. The very existence of the forms of representation led to comparison; and "the assembly concluded itself entitled to all the rights and privileges of an English parliament;" and the records of the house of commons were examined in search of precedents favorable to legislative freedom.

The constitution of the Church in Virginia cherished colonial freedom; for the act of 1642, which established it, reserved the right of presentation to the parish, and

the vestry kept themselves the parson's master by preventing his induction, so that he acquired no freehold in his living, and might be removed at pleasure.

But the greatest safeguard of liberty in Virginia was the individual freedom of mind, which formed, of necessity, the characteristic of independent landholders living apart on their plantations. In the age of commercial monopoly, Virginia had not one market town, not one place of trade. It did not seek to share actively in the profits of commerce; it had little of the precious metals, and still less of credit; it was satisfied with agriculture. Taxes were paid in tobacco; remittances to Europe were made in tobacco; the revenue of the clergy, and the magistrates, and the colony, was collected in the same currency; the colonial tradesman received his pay in straggling parcels of it; and ships from abroad were obliged to lie whole months in the rivers, before boats, visiting the several plantations on their banks, could pick up a cargo. In the season of a commercial revolution, the commercial element did not enter into the character of the colony. Its inhabitants "daily grew more and more averse to cohabitation." All royalists and Churchmen as they were by ancestry, habit, and established law, they reasoned boldly in their seclusion, making their own good pleasure their rule of conduct. "Pernicious notions, fatal to the royal prerogative, were improving daily; and, though Virginia protested against the charge of "republicanism," as an unfounded reproach, yet colonial opinion, the offspring of free inquiry, which seclusion awakened, the woods sheltered, and the self-will of slaveholders fortified, was more than a counterpoise to the prerogative of the British crown. In former ages, no colony had ever enjoyed a happier freedom. From the days of the insurrection of Bacon, for a period of three quarters of a century, Virginia possessed uninterrupted peace. On its own soil, the strife with the Indians was ended; the French hesitated to invade the western frontier, on which they lowered: if sometimes alarm was spread by privateers upon the

coast, a naval foe was not attracted to a region which had neither town nor magazines, where there was nothing to destroy but a field of tobacco, nothing to plunder but the frugal stores of scattered plantations. The soil was stained by nothing but the sweat of the laborer. In such scenes of tranquil happiness, the political strifes were but the fitful ebullitions of a high spirit. Like schoolboys of old at a barring out, the Virginians resisted their government, not as ready for independence, but as resolved on a holiday.

The English revolution was a "Protestant" revolution: of the Roman Catholic proprietary of Maryland it sequestered the authority, while it protected the fortunes. The deputies of Lord Baltimore hesitated to proclaim the new sovereigns. The delay gave birth to an armed association, formed in April, 1689, for asserting the right of King William; and the deputies were easily driven to a garrison on the south side of Patuxent River, about two miles above its mouth. There they capitulated, obtaining security for themselves, and yielding their assent to the exclusion of Papists from all provincial offices. A convention of the associates, "for the defence of the Protestant religion," assumed the government.

The privy council, bigoted against Catholics, advised the forfeiture of the charter by a process of law; but King William, heedless of the remonstrances of the proprietary, who could be convicted of no crime but his creed, and impatient of judicial forms, in June, 1691, by his own power, constituted Maryland a royal government. The arbitrary act was sanctioned by a legal opinion from Lord Holt. In 1692, Sir Lionel Copley arrived with a royal commission, dissolved the convention, assumed the government, and convened an assembly. Its first act recognized William and Mary; its second established the Church of England as the religion of the state, to be supported by general taxation. Thus were the barons of Baltimore superseded for a generation. Under Protestant auspices, the an-

cient capital, sacred to the Virgin Mary, was, in 1694, abandoned, and Annapolis became the seat of government. The system of a religion of state, earnestly advanced by the boastful eagerness of Francis Nicholson, who passed from Virginia to the government of Maryland, and by the patient, the disinterested, but unhappily too exclusive, earnestness of the commissary Thomas Bray, became the settled policy of the government. After many efforts, Episcopacy was, in 1702, established by the colonial legislature, and the right of appointment and induction secured to the governor; but the English acts of toleration were at the same time put in force. Protestant dissent was, therefore, safe. The Roman Catholics alone were left without an ally, exposed to English bigotry and colonial injustice. They alone were disfranchised on the soil which, long before Locke pleaded for toleration, or Penn for religious freedom, they had chosen, not as their own asylum only, but, with catholic liberality, as the asylum of every persecuted sect. In the land which Catholics had opened to Protestants, the Catholic inhabitant was the sole victim to Anglican intolerance.

It was not till 1715, that the power of the proprietary was restored. In the mean time, the administration of Maryland resembled that of Virginia. Nicholson and Andros were governors in each. Like Virginia, Maryland had no considerable town, was disturbed but little by the Indians, and less by the French. Its staple was tobacco; yet hemp and flax were raised, and both, like tobacco, were sometimes used as currency. In Somerset and Dorchester, the manufacture of linen, and even of woollen cloth, was attempted. This province surpassed every other in the number of its white servants. The market was always supplied with them, the price varying from twelve to thirty pounds. By its position, also, Maryland was connected with the north; it is the most southern colony which, in 1695, consented to pay its quota towards the defence of New York, thus forming, from the Chesapeake to Maine, an imperfect con-

federacy. The union was increased by a public post. Eight times in the year, letters might be forwarded from the Potomac to Philadelphia. During the period of the royal government, the assembly still retained influence; for it firmly refused to establish a permanent revenue. Education was neglected; yet a legislative enactment promised a library and a free school to every parish — a proof of the zeal of the commissary and the good intentions of the assembly. The population of the colony increased, though not so rapidly as elsewhere. In 1710, the number of bond and free must have exceeded thirty thousand. In 1715, the authority of the infant proprietary was vindicated in the person of his guardian.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CENTRAL STATES, AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

MORE happy than Lord Baltimore, the proprietary of Pennsylvania recovered his authority without surrendering his principles. Accepting the resignation of the narrow and imperious but honest Blackwell, who, at the period of the revolution, acted as his deputy, the Quaker chief desired “to settle the government in a condition to please the generality.” And, as the council of his province was, at that time, elected directly by the people, that body collectively was constituted his deputy. Of its members, Thomas Lloyd, from North Wales, an Oxford scholar, universally beloved as a bright example of the integrity of virtue, the oracle of “the patriot rustics” on the Delaware, was, by free suffrage, constituted president of the council. But the lower counties were jealous of the superior weight of Pennsylvania; disputes respecting appointments to office grew up; the council

divided; protests ensued; in April, 1691, the members from the territories withdrew, and would not be reconciled; so that, with the reluctant consent of William Penn, the lower counties were constituted a separate government under Markham. Thus did the commonwealth of Delaware begin an independent existence. It was the act of its own citizens.

Uncertainty rested on the institutions of the provinces; an apparent schism among the Quakers increased the gloom. No true Quaker, George Keith asserted, can act in public life, either as a lawgiver or as a magistrate. The inferences were plain. The liberties of the province, fruits of Quaker legislation, were subverted; and, if Quakers could not be magistrates in a Quaker community, King William must send Churchmen to govern them. Conforming his conduct to his opinion, Keith resisted the magistracy of Pennsylvania with defiance and contumely. The grand jury found him guilty of a breach of the laws; an indictment, trial, and conviction, followed. The punishment awarded was a fine of five pounds; yet, as his offence was, in its nature, a contempt of court, the scrupulous Quakers, shunning the punishment of impertinence, lest it should seem the punishment of opinion, forgave the fine. Meantime the envious world, vexed at the society which it could neither corrupt nor intimidate, set up the cry that the Quakers were turned persecutors; while Keith, disowned by those who had cherished and advanced him, and tired of his position, made a true exposition of the strife by accepting an Episcopal benefice.

The disturbance by Keith, creating questions as to the administration of justice, confirmed the disposition of the English government to subject Pennsylvania to a royal commission; and, in April, 1693, Benjamin Fletcher, assuming power as governor for William and Mary, once more united Delaware to Pennsylvania.

When, in May, the house of representatives assembled, resistance was developed. The wary legislators,

intent on maintaining their privileges, declared their code of laws to be "yet in force." "The grant of King Charles to William Penn," said Joseph Growdon, the speaker, "is under the great seal. Is that charter in a lawful way at an end?" To reconcile the difference, Fletcher proposed to reenact the greater number of the former laws. "We are but poor men," said John White, "and of inferior degree, and represent the people. This is our difficulty; we durst not begin to pass one bill to be enacted of our former laws, lest by so doing we declare the rest void."

One permanent change in the constitution was the fruit of this administration: the house originated its bills, and retained this right ever after. Fletcher would gladly have changed the law for "yearly delegates." But the people saved their privilege by having elected an assembly which Fletcher could have no wish to continue. The assembly of the next year was still more impracticable.

Meantime the proprietary recovered his authority. Thrice, within two years after the revolution, had William Penn been arrested as an enemy to the change, and thrice he had been openly set free. The fleet in which he was to embark once more for America, was almost ready to sail, when, on his return from the funeral of George Fox, messengers were sent to apprehend him. Having been thrice questioned, and thrice acquitted, he now concealed himself in retirement. Locke would have interceded for his pardon; but Penn refused clemency, waiting rather for justice.

But, among the many in England whom Penn had benefited, gratitude was not extinct. In 1693, on the restoration of the whigs to power, Rochester, who, under James II., had given up office rather than profess Romanism, the less distinguished Ranelagh, and Henry, the brother of Algernon Sidney, interceded for the restoration of the proprietary of Pennsylvania. "He is my old acquaintance," answered William; "he may follow his business as freely as ever; I have nothing to say

against him." Appearing before the king in council, his innocence was established; and, in August, 1694, the patent for his restoration passed the seals.

The pressure of poverty delayed the return of the proprietary to the banks of the Delaware; and, in March, 1695, Markham was invested with the executive power. The members of the assembly, which he convened in September, would have "their privileges granted before they would give any money." Doubtful of the extent of his authority, Markham dissolved the assembly.

The legislature of the next year persevered, and, by its own authority, subject only to the assent of the proprietary, established a government, which constituted the people themselves the fountain of all honor and of all power.

In November, 1699, William Penn was once more within his colony. In June, 1700, the old frame of government was surrendered, with the unanimous consent of the assembly and council, and the people were authorized to frame a constitution for themselves.

Yet the work was delayed by colonial jars. The counties of Delaware dreaded the loss of their independence by a union with the extending population of Pennsylvania. Besides, in the lower province, the authority of William Penn rested but on sufferance; in the larger state, it was sanctioned by a royal charter.

Meantime the proprietary endeavored to remove the jealousy with which his provinces were regarded in England; and the colony readily passed laws against piracy and illicit trade. In regard to the negroes, Penn attempted to legislate for the sanctity of marriage among the slaves, and for their personal safety. The last object was effected; the first, which would have been the forerunner of freedom, was defeated. Neither did philanthropy achieve permanent benefits for the Indian.

In August, 1701, amidst the fruitless wranglings between the delegates from Delaware and those from Pennsylvania, the news was received that the English parliament was about to render their strifes and their

hopes alike nugatory by the abrogation of every colonial charter. An assembly was summoned instantly; and, when it came together, the proprietary, eager to return to England to defend the common rights of himself and his province, urged the perfecting of their frame of government.

The relations of Penn to his colony were twofold; he was their sovereign, and he was the owner of the unappropriated domain. The members of the assembly, impelled by an interest common to every one of their constituents, were disposed to encroach on his private rights. If some of their demands were resisted, he readily yielded every thing which could be claimed, even by inference, from his promises, or could be expected from his liberality; making his interests of less consideration than the satisfaction of his people; rather remitting than rigorously exacting his revenues.

Of political privileges, he conceded all that was desired. The council, henceforward to be appointed by the proprietary, became a branch of the executive government; the assembly assumed to itself the right of originating every act of legislation, subject only to the assent of the governor. Elections to the assembly were annual; the time of its election and the time of its session were fixed; it was to sit upon its own adjournments. Sheriffs and coroners were nominated by the people; no questions of property could come before the governor and council; the judiciary was left to the discretion of the legislature. Religious liberty was established, and every public employment was open to every man professing faith in Jesus Christ. The fundamental law of William Penn, even his detractors concede, was in harmony with universal reason, and true to the ancient and just liberties of the people.

On returning to America, William Penn had designed to remain here for life, and to give a home to his family and his posterity in the New World. But his work was accomplished. Divesting himself and his successors of all power to injure, having given freedom and popular

power to his provinces, no strifes remaining but strifes about property, happily for himself, happily for his people, happily for posterity, he departed from the "young country" of his affections, and exiled himself to the birthplace of his fathers.

For the separation of the territories, contingent provision had been made by the proprietary. In 1762, Pennsylvania convened its legislature apart, and the two colonies were never again united. The lower counties became at once almost independent. Delaware had its own legislature, its own tribunals, its own subordinate executive offices, and virtually enjoyed an absolute self-government.

The subsequent years, in Pennsylvania, exhibit constant collisions between the proprietary, as owner of the unappropriated public territory, and a people eager to enlarge their freeholds. Strifes also existed on political questions. That the tenure of the judicial office should be the will of the people, was claimed as "the people's right;" and the courts obtained no permanent organization till the accession of the house of Hanover. The civil constitution included feudalism and democracy; from this there could be no escape but through the sovereignty of the people. The province, indeed, had almost become a royal one by treaty. The poverty of William Penn, consequent on his disinterested labors, created a willingness to surrender his province to the crown; but he insisted on preserving the colonial liberties, and the crown hardly cared to buy a democracy.

Thus did Penn perfect his government; — an executive dependent for its support on the people; all subordinate executive officers elected by the people; the judiciary dependent for its existence on the people; all legislation originating exclusively with the people; no forts, no armed police, no militia; perfect freedom of opinion; no established church; no difference of rank; and a harbor opened for the reception of all mankind, of children of every language and every creed.

In New Jersey, had the proprietary power been vested

in the people, or reserved to one man, it would have survived; but it was divided among speculators in land, who, as a body, had gain, and not freedom, for their end.

In April, 1688, "the proprietors of East New Jersey had surrendered their pretended right of government," and the surrender was accepted. In October of the same year, the council of the proprietaries, not of the people, of West New Jersey, voted to surrender to the secretary-general for the dominion of New England, "all records relating to government." Thus the whole province fell, with New York and New England, under the consolidated government of Andros. At the revolution, therefore, the sovereignty over New Jersey was merged in the crown; and the legal maxim soon promulgated by the lords of trade, that the domains of the proprietaries might be bought and sold, but not their executive power, weakened their attempts at the restoration of their authority.

Will you know with how little government a community of husbandmen may be safe? For twelve years, the whole province was not in a settled condition. From June, 1689, to August, 1692, East New Jersey had no regular government, being, in time of war, without military officers, as well as without magistrates.

In that year, Andrew Hamilton appeared as governor of the province, for the proprietaries, and "served the people acceptably." The statute books, which prove the care of his administration for schools and roads, for agriculture and trade, imply a quiet state of society. In 1698, on a short interruption of his government, the proprietaries, through his successor, proposed to the people, by way of compromise, a grant of liberties, on condition of payments and quitrents. The assembly promptly vindicated the privileges of the people as indefeasible, and renewed the strife about land-titles. At the same time, the lords of trade claimed New Jersey as a royal province, and they proposed a settlement of the question by "a trial in Westminster Hall on a feigned issue." The proprietaries, threatened with the ultimate

interference of parliament, in respect to provinces "where," it was said, "no regular government had ever been established," resolved rather to resign their pretensions.

In 1702, the first year of Queen Anne, the surrender took place before the privy council; the two Jerseys were united in one province, and the government was conferred on Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, who, like Queen Anne, was the grandchild of Clarendon.

New Jersey never again obtained a charter: the royal commission and the royal instructions to Lord Cornbury constituted the form of its administration. To the governor, appointed by the crown, belonged the power of legislation, with consent of the royal council and the representatives of the people. A freehold or property qualification limited the elective franchise. The governor could convene, prorogue, or dissolve the assembly at his will, and the period of its duration depended on his pleasure. The laws were subject to an immediate veto from the governor, and a veto from the crown, to be exercised at any time. The governor, with the consent of his council, instituted courts of law, and appointed their officers. The people took no part in constituting the judiciary. Liberty of conscience was granted to all but Papists, but favor was invoked for the Church of England.

In suits at law, the governor and council formed a court of appeal: if the value in dispute exceeded two hundred pounds, the English privy council possessed ultimate jurisdiction. No printing-press might be kept, "no book, pamphlet, or other matters whatsoever, be printed without a license." And, in conformity with English policy, especial countenance of the traffic "in merchantable negroes" was earnestly enjoined. Thus the courts, the press, the executive, became dependent on the crown, and the interests of free labor were sacrificed to the cupidity of the Royal African Company.

One method of influence remained to the people of New Jersey: the assembly must fix the amount of its grants to the governor. The queen did not venture to prescribe, or to invite parliament to prescribe, a salary, — still less to appropriate it from colonial resources; and the wise assembly, which never established a permanent revenue, often embarrassed its votes of supplies by insisting on an auditor of its own.

The freemen of the colony were soon conscious of the diminution of their liberties. For absolute religious freedom, they obtained only toleration; for courts resting on enactments of their own representatives, they now had courts instituted by royal ordinances; and the sense of their loss quickened their love of freedom by an undefined sentiment of having suffered a wrong. By degrees they claimed to hold their former privileges by the nature of an inviolable compact. The surrender of their charter could change the authority of the proprietaries, but not impair their concessions of political liberties. Inured to self-reliance and self-government, no thought of independence sprung up among them; but the Quakers and Puritans of East and West New Jersey, cordially joining to vindicate their common liberties, never feared to encounter a royal governor, or to resist encroachments on their rights.

Retaining its own legislature, New Jersey was, for a season, included in the same government with New York. On assuming power in that province, Leisler rested chiefly for his support upon the less educated classes of the Dutch, and English dissenters were not heartily his friends. The large Dutch landholders, many of the English merchants, the friends to the Anglican Church, the cabal that had grown up round the royal governors, were his wary and unrelenting opponents. But his greatest weakness was in himself. Too restless to obey, and too passionate to command, as a Presbyterian, Leisler was averse to the Church of England; as a man of middling fortunes, to the aris-

tocracy; while, as a Dutchman and a Calvinist, he was an enthusiast for William of Orange. Destitute of equanimity, his failure was inevitable.

In June, 1689, a committee of safety of ten assumed the task of reorganizing the government, and Jacob Leisler received their commission to command the fort of New York. Of this he gained possession without a struggle. An address to King William was forwarded, and a letter from Leisler was received by that prince without rebuke. Nicholson, the deputy-governor, had been heard to say, that the people of New York were a conquered people, whom the prince might lawfully govern by his own will. In August, under the dread inspired by this doctrine, the committee of safety reassembled; and Leisler was constituted the temporary governor of the province.

The appointment was, in its form, open to censure. Courtland, the mayor of the city, Bayard, and others of the council, after fruitless opposition, retired to Albany, where the magistrates, in convention, proclaimed their allegiance to William and Mary, and their resolution to disregard the authority of Leisler. When Milborne, the son-in-law of Leisler, first came to demand the fort, he was successfully resisted. In December, 1689, letters were received addressed to Nicholson, or, in his absence, to "such as, for the time being, take care for preserving the peace and administering the law" in New York; and, as Nicholson was absent, Leisler esteemed his own authority to have received the royal sanction. In the spring of 1690, even Albany yielded.

Meantime a house of representatives had been convened, and, amidst distress and confusion, the government constituted by the popular act.

In January, 1691, the Beaver arrived in New York harbor with Ingoldsby, who bore a commission as captain. Leisler offered him quarters in the city, but refused to surrender the fort, at the same time promising obedience to Sloughter on his arrival.

On the evening of the nineteenth of March, when Henry Sloughter, the profligate, needy, and narrow-minded adventurer, who held the royal commission, arrived in New York, Leisler sent messengers to receive his orders. The messengers were detained. Next morning, he asked, by letter, to whom he should surrender the fort. The letter was unheeded; and Sloughter, giving no notice to Leisler, commanded Ingoldsby "to arrest him, and the persons called his council."

The prisoners, eight in number, were promptly arraigned before a special court constituted for the purpose by an ordinance, and having inveterate royalists as judges. Six of the inferior insurgents made their defence, were convicted of high treason, and were reprieved. Leisler and Milborne denied to the governor the power to institute a tribunal for judging his predecessor, and they appealed to the king. On their refusal to plead, they were condemned of high treason as mutes, and sentenced to death.

Meantime the assembly came together. In its character it was thoroughly royalist, establishing a revenue, and placing it in the hands of the receiver-general, at the mercy of the governor's warrant. It passed several resolves against Leisler, especially declaring his conduct at the fort an act of rebellion; and Sloughter, in a time of excitement, assented to the vote of the council, that Leisler and Milborne should be executed. On the fifteenth of May, "the house, according to their opinion given, did approve of what his excellency and council had done."

Accordingly, on the next day, amidst a drenching rain, Leisler, parting from his wife Alice, and his numerous family, was, with his son-in-law, Milborne, led to the gallows. Both acknowledged the errors which they had committed "through ignorance and jealous fear, through rashness and passion, through misinformation and misconstruction;" in other respects, they asserted their innocence, which their blameless private lives confirmed. "Weep not for us,

who are departing to our God," — these were Leisler's words to his oppressed friends, — "but weep for yourselves, that remain behind in misery and vexation;" adding, as the handkerchief was bound round his face, "I hope these eyes shall see our Lord Jesus in heaven." Milborne exclaimed, "I die for the king and queen, and the Protestant religion, in which I was born and bred. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

On an appeal to the king, the estates of "the deceased" were restored to their families; and the friends of Leisler persevered till, in 1695, an act of parliament reversed the attainder. In 1698, the assembly of New York confirmed the judgment of the British legislature.

Thus fell Leisler, a victim to party spirit. Long afterwards, his friends, whom a royalist of that day described as "the meaner sort of the inhabitants," and who were distinguished always by their zeal for popular power, for toleration, for opposition to the doctrine of legitimacy, formed a powerful, and ultimately a successful, party. His rashness and incompetency were forgotten in sympathy for the judicial murder by which he fell; and the principles which he upheld became the principles of the colony.

There existed in the province no party which would sacrifice colonial freedom. Even the legislature, composed of the deadly enemies of Leisler, asserted the right to a representative government, and to English liberties, to be inherent in the people, and not a consequence of the royal favor. This act received the veto of King William. "No tax whatever shall be levied on his majesty's subjects in the province, or on their estates, on any pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the representatives of the people in general assembly convened:" — "supreme legislative power belongs to the governor and council, and to the people by their representatives:" — such was the enactment of the most royalist assembly that could ever be con-

vened in New York, vainly annulled by the English sovereign.

In 1692, in the administration of the covetous and passionate Fletcher, the old hope of extending the bounds of the province from Connecticut River to Delaware Bay revived; and, for the security of the central province, the command of the militia of New Jersey and Connecticut was, by a royal commission, conferred on Fletcher. An address was also sent to the king, representing the great cost of defending the frontiers, and requesting that the neighboring colonies might be compelled to contribute to the protection of Albany. In the necessity of common defence lay the root of the parliamentary attempt at taxation; for it created the desire of a central will, and this desire looked sometimes to the English monarch as the fountain of sovereignty, sometimes to the idea of a confederacy of the colonies, and at last to the action of parliament. In this age, it led only to instructions. In 1695, all the colonies north of Carolina were directed to furnish quotas for the defence of New York or the attacks on Canada; but the instructions, though urgently renewed, were never enforced, and were by some colonies openly disregarded.

In its internal affairs, New York is the most northern colony that admitted by enactment the partial establishment of the Anglican Church. When the colony became English, the conquest was made by men devoted to the English throne and the English Church, and the influence of Churchmen was at once predominant in the council. The idea of toleration was still imperfect in New Netherlands; equality among religious sects was unknown. It is not strange, therefore, that, in 1693, the house framed a bill, in which they established certain churches and ministers, yet reserving the right of presentation to the vestrymen and church-wardens; and, after much altercation, the English Church succeeded in engrossing the provision made by the ministry acts.

The jealousy of the dissenters was tranquillized in the

short administration of the kindlier earl of Bellamont, an Irish peer, with a sound heart and honorable sympathies for popular freedom, who arrived in New York in April, 1698, with a commission extending to the borders of Canada, including all the northern British possessions, except Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The enforcement of the acts of trade, which had been violated by the connivance of men appointed to execute them,—the suppression of piracy, which, as the turbulent offspring of long wars and of the false principles of the commercial systems of that age, infested every sea from America to China,—were the great purposes of Bellamont; yet for both he accomplished little. The acts of trade, despotic in their nature, contradicting the rights of humanity, were evaded every where; but in New York, a city, in part, of aliens, owing allegiance to England, without the bonds of common history, kindred, and tongue, they were disregarded without scruple. No voice of conscience declared their evasion a moral offence; respect for them was but a calculation of chances. In the attempt to suppress piracy, the promises of infinite booty to be recovered from pirates, or to be won from the enemies of England, had gained from the king and the admiralty a commission for William Kidd, and had deluded Bellamont into a partnership in a private expedition. Failing in his hopes of opulence, Kidd found his way as a pirate to the gallows. In the house of commons, the transaction provoked inquiry, and hardly escaped censure.

On questions of finance, the popularity of Bellamont prevented collisions by an honest promise—"I will pocket none of the public money myself, nor shall there be any embezzlement by others." And the necessity of the promise is the strongest commentary upon the character of his predecessors. The confiding house of representatives voted a revenue for six years, and placed it, as before, at the disposition of the governor. His death interrupted the short period of harmony in the colony; and, happily for New York, Lord Cornbury,

his successor, had every vice of character necessary to discipline a colony into self-reliance and resistance.

By a house of assembly not yet provoked to defiance, the expenses of his voyage were compensated by a grant of two thousand pounds, and an annual revenue for the public service for a period of seven years. In April, 1703, a further grant was made of fifteen hundred pounds to fortify the Narrows, "and for no other use whatever." But the money, by the warrant of Lord Cornbury, disappeared from the treasury, while the Narrows were still defenceless; and, in June, the assembly, awakened to distrust by addresses to the governor and the queen, solicited a treasurer of its own appointment. In the next year, they more earnestly asserted "the rights of the house." "I know of no right that you have," answered Lord Cornbury, "but such as the queen is pleased to allow you." But the firmness of the assembly won the right of appointing by the general assembly its own treasurer to take charge of extraordinary supplies.

In affairs relating to religion, Lord Cornbury was equally imperious, disputing generally the right of either minister or schoolmaster to exercise his vocation without his license. The question of the freedom of the pulpit no longer included the whole question of intellectual freedom; the victory for toleration had been won; and the spirit of political freedom found its organ in the provincial legislature. The captious reference to the standing instructions in favor of the English Church, sometimes encouraging arbitrary acts of power in its behalf, and always tending to bias every question in its favor, led only to acts of petty tyranny, useless to English interests, and benefiting the people by compelling their active vigilance. The power of the people redressed the griefs. If Francis Makemie, a Presbyterian, was indicted for preaching without a license from the governor, — if the chief justice advised a special verdict, — the jury, composed, it is said, of Episcopalians, constituted themselves the judges of the law, and readily

agreed on an acquittal. In like manner, at Jamaica, the church which the whole town had erected, was, by the connivance of Lord Cornbury, reserved exclusively for the Episcopalians — an injustice which was afterwards reversed in the colonial courts.

Twice had Lord Cornbury dissolved an assembly. The third which he convened, in August, 1708, proved how rapidly the political education of the people had advanced. Dutch, English, and New England men, were all of one spirit. The rights of the people, with regard to taxation, to courts of law, to officers of the crown, were asserted with an energy to which the governor could offer no resistance. Without presence of mind, subdued by the colonial legislature, and now appearing dispirited as he was indigent, he submitted to the ignominy of reproof, and thanked the assembly for the simplest act of justice.

Shall we glance at his career in New Jersey? There are the same demands for money, and a still more wary refusal; representatives, elected by a majority of votes, excluded by the governor; assemblies convened, and angrily dissolved. In April, 1707, necessity compels a third assembly. Its members, according to the usage of that day, wait on the governor with their remonstrance. Samuel Jennings, the Quaker speaker, reads it for them most audibly. It charges Lord Cornbury with accepting bribes; it deals sharply with "his new methods of government," his "encroachment" on the popular liberties, by "assuming a negative voice to the freeholders' election of their representatives;" "they have neither heads, hearts, nor souls, that are not forward with their utmost power lawfully to redress the miseries of their country." "Stop!" exclaimed Lord Cornbury, as the undaunted Quaker delivered the remonstrance; and Jennings meekly and distinctly repeated the charges, with greater emphasis than before. What could Lord Cornbury do? He attempted to retort, charging the Quakers with disloyalty and faction; and they answered, in the words of Nehemiah to Sanballat, "There is no

such thing done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart." And they left, for the instruction of future governors, this weighty truth: — "To engage the affections of the people, no artifice is needful, but to let them be unmolested in the enjoyment of what belongs to them of right."

Lord Cornbury had fulfilled his mission; more successful than any patriot, he had taught New York the necessity and the methods of incipient resistance. The assembly which, in April, 1709, met Lord Lovelace, his short-lived successor, began the contest that was never to cease but with independence. The crown demanded a permanent revenue, without appropriation; New York henceforward would raise only an annual revenue, and appropriate it specifically.

Such was the inheritance of controversies provided for Robert Hunter, the friend of Swift, an adventurer, who came to his government in quest of good cheer. "Here," he writes, "is the finest air to live upon in the universe: the soil bears all things, but not for me; for, according to the custom of the country, the sachems are the poorest of the people." "Sancho Panza," he avers, "was indeed but a type of me."

In September, 1710, within less than five months of his arrival, he was disputing with an assembly. The desire to conquer Canada prevailed, in the summer of 1711, to obtain a specific grant of bills of credit for £10,000; but no concession was made in regard to the ordinary expenses of the government.

Hunter could not effectually obey the lords of trade: they instruct him as to what the legislature shall do, and the legislature is inflexible. "I have spent three years in such torment and vexation," wrote the really well-disposed man, "that nothing in life can ever make amends for it." Concession and philosophical indifference afterwards gave him calm; but the spirit roused in New York was never lulled.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

NEW YORK would willingly, after the revolution, have extended her boundary over a part of Connecticut; but the people of the colony themselves vindicated its liberties and the integrity of its territory.

Governor Treat having resumed his office, the assembly which convened in May, 1689, obeying the declared opinion of the freemen, organized the government according to their charter.

In London, Whiting, the agent of Connecticut, was aided by all the influence which the religious sympathy of the Presbyterians could enlist for New England. The English corporations had been restored; and Edward Ward gave his opinion, that a surrender, of which no legal record existed, did not invalidate a patent. Somers assented. "There is no ground of doubt," reiterated George Treby. And the sanctity attached to the democratic charter and government of Connecticut, is the most honorable proof of the respect which was cherished by the revolution of 1688 for every existing franchise.

The English crown would willingly have resumed, at least, the command of the militia, which, after having been, at one time, assigned to the governor of Massachusetts, by whom it was never challenged, was, in 1692, claimed as a part of the royal prerogative, and conferred on the governor of New York. But, refusing to await the decision in England, in October, 1693, Fletcher appeared in Hartford, and, after fruitless negotiation, ordered its militia under arms, that he might beat up for volunteers for the war.

Hartford was then a small but delightful township, with its meeting-house and cluster of dwellings, built on land just above the rich meadows which the Connecticut annually overflows—a community of farmers, the

unmixed progeny of Puritans. William Wadsworth, the senior captain of the town, walked in front of the assembled train-bands, "busy in exercising them." Fletcher advances, to assume command, ordering Bayard, of New York, to read his commission and the royal instructions. At the order of Captain Wadsworth, the drums began to roll, beating some of the old marches that may have been handed down from the veterans of Gustavus or the volunteers of Naseby. The petulant Fletcher commanded silence. "I will not"—such had been his words to the governor of Connecticut—"I will not set my foot out of this colony till I have seen his majesty's commission obeyed;" and Bayard, of New York, once more began to read. Once more the drums beat. "Silence!" exclaimed Fletcher. "Drum, drum, I say!" shouted Wadsworth, adding, as he turned to the governor of New York, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment." Fletcher was daunted; and, as the excited people came swarming into Hartford, in spite of his expressed determination, he fled from the scene to his government in New York.

In April, 1694, the king, in council, decided, on the advice of Ward and Treves, that the ordinary power of the militia in Connecticut belonged to its government.

The decisions which established the rights of Connecticut included those of Rhode Island. The assaults of the royalists were always made upon the more powerful colony, in the assurance that the fate of both would be included in its overthrow. These two commonwealths were the portion of the British empire distinguished above all others by the largest liberty. Each presented the anomaly of a nearly absolute democracy under the shelter of a monarchy.

But danger was not passed. The crown, reserving to itself the right of appeal, had still a method of interfering in the internal concerns of the little republics. Besides, their charters were never safe; absolute sover-

eighty being claimed in England, their freedom rested on forbearance. Both were included among the colonies in which the lords of trade advised a complete restoration of the prerogatives of the crown. Both were named in the bill which, in 1701, was introduced into parliament for the abrogation of all American charters.

The insurrection in Boston, which had overthrown the dominion of Andros, had sprung spontaneously from the people. Among the magistrates, and especially among the ministers, some distrusted every popular movement, and sought to control a revolution, of which they feared the tendency. The insurgents insisted on the restoration of the colonial charter; but Cotton Mather, claiming only English liberties, and not charter liberties, and selfishly jealous of popular power, was eager to thwart the design; and, against the opinion of the venerable Bradstreet, the charter magistrates, joining to themselves "the principal inhabitants" of Boston, became a self-constituted "council for the safety of the people."

When, in May, 1689, the convention of the people assembled, they, too, demanded their ancient privileges. The council resisted, and the question was referred to the people. Nearly four fifths of the towns instructed their representatives to reassume the charter; but the pertinacity of a majority of the council permitted only a compromise. Thus was lost the only opportunity for Massachusetts to recover its sequestered freedom. But the popular party, at the assembly in June, jealous of the dispositions of Increase Mather, joined with him, in the agency for New England, Sir Henry Ashurst and two of their own adherents, the patriot Elisha Cook, and the honest but less able Thomas Oakes.

King William was a friend to Calvinists, and, in March, 1689, on the first interview with Increase Mather, conceded the recall of Sir Edmund Andros. The conven-

tion parliament voted that the taking away of the New England charters was a grievance; and the English Presbyterians, with singular affection, declared that "the king could not possibly do any thing more grateful to his dissenting subjects in England, than by restoring to New England its former privileges." The dissolution of the convention parliament, followed by one in which an influence friendly to the tories was perceptible, destroyed the hope of relief from the English legislature: to attempt a reversal of the judgment by a writ of error was hopeless. There was no avenue to success but through the favor of a monarch who loved authority. The people of New England "are like the Jews under Cyrus," said Wiswall, the agent for Plymouth colony: with a new monarch "on the throne of their oppressors, they hope in vain to rebuild their city and their sanctuary."

Yet William III. professed friendship for Massachusetts. The hope of colonial conquests over the French was excited; his subjects in New England, said Increase Mather, if they could but enjoy "their ancient rights and privileges," would make him "the emperor of America." In the family of Hampden, Massachusetts inherited a powerful intercessor. The countess of Sunderland, whom the Princess, afterwards Queen, Anne describes as "a hypocrite," "running from church to church after the famousest preachers, and keeping a clatter with her devotions," is remembered in America as a benefactress. The aged Lord Wharton, last surviving member of the Westminster assembly of divines, "a constant and cordial lover of all good men," never grew weary in his zeal. The tolerant archbishop of Canterbury, the rational Tillotson, charged the king "not to take away from the people of New England any of the privileges which Charles I. had granted them." "The charter of New England," said Burnet, "was not an act of grace, but a contract between the king and the first patentees, who promised to enlarge the king's

dominion at their own charges, provided they and their posterity might enjoy certain privileges." Yet Somers resisted the restoration of the charter of Massachusetts, pleading its imperfections. The charter sketched by Sir George Treby was rejected by the privy council for its liberality; and that which, in October, 1691, was finally conceded, reserved such powers to the crown, that Cooke, the popular envoy, declined to accept it. Somers and King William were less liberal to Massachusetts than Clarendon and Charles II.

The charter government of Massachusetts, as established by the revolutionary monarch of England, differed from that of the royal provinces in nothing but the council. In the royal colonies, that body was appointed by the king; in Massachusetts, it was, in the first instance, appointed by the king, and, subject to a negative from the governor, was ever after elected, in joint ballot, by the members of the council and the representatives of the people. As the councillors were twenty-eight in number, they generally, by their own vote, succeeded in effecting their own reelection; and, instead of being, as elsewhere, a greedy oligarchy, were famed for their unoffending respectability. For long years, they ventured on nothing that could deeply displease royalty or the people.

The territory of Massachusetts was by the charter vastly enlarged. On the south, it embraced Plymouth colony and the Elizabeth Islands; on the east, it included Maine and all beyond it to the Atlantic; on the north, it was described as swept by the St. Lawrence — the fatal gift of a wilderness, for the conquest and defence of which Massachusetts expended more treasure, and lost more of her sons, than all the English continental colonies beside.

From the Elizabeth Islands to the St. Lawrence, and eastward to the Atlantic, Massachusetts now included the whole vast region, except New Hampshire. That colony became henceforward a royal province. In 1689,

its inhabitants had assembled in convention to institute government for themselves; at their second session, they resolved to unite, and did actually unite, with Massachusetts; and both colonies desired that the union might be permanent. But England, if it annexed to Massachusetts the burden of the unconquered desert east and north of the Piscataqua, held itself bound by no previous compact to concede to New Hampshire any charter whatever. The right to the soil, which Samuel Allen, of London, had purchased of Mason, was recognized as valid; and Allen himself received the royal commission to govern a people whose territory, including the farms they had redeemed from the wilderness, he claimed as his own. His son-in-law Usher, of Boston, formerly an adherent of Andros, and a great speculator in lands, was appointed, under him, lieutenant-governor. Such was the English revolution of 1688. It valued the uncertain claims of an English merchant more than the liberties of a province. Indeed, that revolution loved, not liberty, but privilege, and respected popular liberty only where it had the sanction of a vested right.

In 1692, the new government for New Hampshire was organized by Usher. The civil history of that colony, for a quarter of a century, is a record of lawsuits about land. Complaints against Usher were met by counter complaints, till New Hampshire was placed, with Massachusetts, under the government of Bellamont, and, in 1699, a judiciary, composed of men attached to the colony, was instituted. Then, and for years afterwards, followed scenes of confusion; — trials in the colonial courts, resulting always in verdicts against the pretended proprietary; appeals to the English monarch in council; papers withheld; records of the court under Cranfield destroyed; orders from the lords of trade and the crown disregarded by a succession of inflexible juries; a compromise proposed, and rendered of no avail by the death of one of the parties; an Indian deed man-

ufactured to protect the cultivators of the soil; till, in 1715, the heirs of the proprietary abandoned their claim in despair. The yeomanry of New Hampshire gained quiet possession of the land which their labor had redeemed and rendered valuable. The waste domain reverted to the crown. A proprietary, sustained by the crown, claimed the people of New Hampshire as his tenants; and they made themselves freeholders.

For Massachusetts, the nomination of its first officers under the charter was committed to Increase Mather. As governor he proposed Sir William Phipps, a native of New England, who honestly loved his country, — of a dull intellect, headstrong, and with a reason so feeble, that, in politics, he knew nothing of general principles, — in religion, was the victim to superstition. Accustomed, from boyhood, to the axe and the oar, he had gained distinction only by his wealth, the fruits of his enterprise with the diving-bell in raising treasures from a Spanish wreck. His partners in this enterprise gained him the honor of knighthood; his present favor was due to the honest bigotry and ignorance which left him open to the influence of the ministers. Intercession had been made by Cotton Mather for the advancement of William Stoughton, a man of cold affections, proud, self-willed, and covetous of distinction. He had acted under James II. as deputy-president — a fit tool for such a king, joining in all “the miscarriages of the late government.” The people had rejected him, in their election of judges, giving him not a vote. Yielding to the request of his son, Increase Mather assigned to Stoughton the office of deputy-governor. “The twenty-eight assistants, who are the governor’s council, every man of them,” wrote the agent, “is a friend to the interests of the churches.” “The time for favor is come,” exulted Cotton Mather; “yea, the set time is come.”

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WITCHCRAFT AT SALEM.

BUT, instead of a restoration of political power to the ministers, a revolution in opinion was impending. The reformation had rested truth on the Bible, as the Catholic church had rested it on authority in tradition; and a slavish interpretation of the Bible had led to a blind idolatry of the book. But true religion has no alliance with bondage; and, as the spirit of the reformation, which was but a less perfect form of freedom of mind, was advancing, reason was summoned to interpret the records of the past, and to separate time-hallowed errors from truths of the deepest moment. The statute-book, in obedience to this adoration of the letter, had asserted the existence of witchcraft by establishing death as its penalty; sustaining both the superstition and its punishment by reference to the Jewish records.

Belief in witchcraft had sprung alike from the letter of the Mosaic law, and from the natural wonder excited by the mysteries of nature; had fastened itself on the elements of religious faith, and become deeply branded into the common mind. Do not despise the credulity. The people did not rally to error; they accepted the superstition only because it had not yet been disengaged from religion.

In the last year of the administration of Andros, the daughter of John Goodwin, a child of thirteen years, charged a laundress with having stolen linen from the family. Glover, the mother of the laundress, a friendless emigrant, almost ignorant of English, like a true woman, with a mother's heart, rebuked the false accusation. Immediately the girl, to secure revenge, became bewitched. The infection spread. Three others of the family, the youngest a boy of less than five years old, soon succeeded in equally arresting public attention.

They would affect to be deaf, then dumb, then blind, or all three at once; they would bark like dogs, or purr like so many cats; but they ate well, and slept well. The magistrates, William Stoughton being one of the judges, and all holding commissions exclusively from the English king, with a "vigor" which the united ministers commended as "just," made "a discovery of the wicked instrument of the devil." The culprit was evidently a wild Irish woman, of a strange tongue. Goodwin, who made the complaint, "had no proof that could have done her any hurt;" but "the scandalous old hag," whom some thought "crazed in her intellectuals," was bewildered, and made strange answers, which were taken as confessions. Accordingly she was condemned as a witch, and executed.

There were skeptics in Boston. Cotton Mather, eager to learn the marvels of the world of spirits, and "wishing to confute the Sadducism" of his times, invited the bewitched girl to his house; and she easily imposed upon his credulity. The devil would permit her to read in Quaker books, or the Common Prayer, or Popish books; but a prayer from Cotton Mather, or a chapter from the Bible, would throw her into convulsions. By a series of experiments, in reading aloud passages from the Bible in various languages, the minister satisfied himself, "by trials of their capacity," that devils are well skilled in languages, and understand Latin, and Greek, and even Hebrew; though he fell "upon one inferior Indian language which the demons did not seem so well to understand." The vanity of Cotton Mather was further gratified; for the bewitched girl would say that the demons could not enter his study, and that his own person was shielded by God against blows from the evil spirits.

Yet the rapid progress of free inquiry was alarming. "There are multitudes of Sadducees in our day," sighed Cotton Mather. "Men count it wisdom to credit nothing but what they see and feel. They never saw any witches; therefore there are none."

“Witchcraft,” he shouted from the pulpit, “is the most nefandous high treason against the Majesty on high” — “a capital crime.” “A witch is not to be endured in heaven or on earth.” And because men were growing inquisitive and merciful, his discourse was printed with a copious narrative of the recent case of witchcraft. The story was confirmed by Goodwin, and recommended by all the ministers of Boston and Charlestown; and Cotton Mather, announcing himself as an eye-witness, resolved henceforward to regard “the denial of devils, or of witches,” as a personal affront, the evidence “of ignorance, incivility, and dishonest impudence.”

This book, thus prepared and recommended, and destined to have a wide circulation, was printed in 1689, and distributed through New England. Unhappily, it gained fresh power from England, where it was “published by Richard Baxter,” who declared the evidence strong enough to convince all but “a very obdurate Sadducee.”

The revolution seemed to open once more a career of ambition to ecclesiastical influence. “Ministers,” said Mather, “ought to concern themselves in politics.” But their political mission was accomplished. It could be prolonged only by aid of a superstitious veneration. To check free inquiry, the cry of witchcraft was raised; and “rebellion,” it was said, “is as the sin of witchcraft: rebellion was the Achan, the trouble of all.”

In February, 1692, at Salem village, now Danvers, where there had been a long strife between the minister and the people, the daughter of Samuel Parris, the minister, a child of nine years, and his niece, a girl of less than twelve, began to have strange caprices. “He that will read Cotton Mather’s Book of Memorable Providences, may read part of what these children suffered;” and Tituba, an Indian female servant, who had practised some wild incantations, being betrayed by her husband, was scourged by Parris, her master, into confessing her-

self a witch. The ministers of the neighborhood held, at the afflicted house, a day of fasting and prayer; and the little children became the most conspicuous personages in Salem. Of a sudden, the opportunity of fame, of which the love is not the exclusive infirmity of noble minds, was placed within the reach of persons of the coarsest mould; and the ambition of notoriety recruited the little company of the possessed. There existed no motive to hang Tituba: she was saved as a living witness to the reality of witchcraft; and Sarah Good, a poor woman of a melancholic temperament, was the first person selected for accusation. Parris became at once informer and witness; questioning his Indian servants and others, prompting their answers, and acting as recorder to the magistrates. The recollection of the old controversy in the parish could not be forgotten; and Parris "stifled the accusations of some," "vigorously promoted the accusation" of others, and was "the beginner and procurer of the sore afflictions to Salem village and the country." Martha Cory, who, on her examination in the meeting-house before a throng, with a firm spirit, alone, against them all, denied the presence of witchcraft, was committed to prison. Rebecca Nurse, likewise, a woman of purest life, an object of the special hatred of Parris, resisted the company of accusers, and was committed. And Parris, filling his prayers with the theme, made the pulpit ring with it. "Have not I chosen you twelve," — such was his text, — "and one of you is a devil!" At this, Sarah Cloyce, sister to Rebecca Nurse, rose up and left the meeting-house; and she, too, was cried out upon, and sent to prison.

In April, to examine Sarah Cloyce and Elizabeth Procter, the deputy-governor, and five other magistrates, went to Salem. It was a great day; several ministers were present. Parris officiated; and, by his own record, it is plain that he elicited every accusation. Struck with horror at the charge against her, Sarah Cloyce asked for water, and fainted. "Her spirit," shouted

the band of the afflicted, "is gone to prison to her sister Nurse." Against Elizabeth Procter, the niece of Parris told stories yet more foolish than false: "Dear child," exclaimed the accused, in her agony, "it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child." And her accusers, turning towards her husband, declared that he, too, was a wizard. All three were committed. Giles Cory, a stubborn old man of more than fourscore years, could not escape the malice of his minister. Mary Easty, of Topsfield, another sister to Rebecca Nurse, — a woman of singular gentleness and force of character, deeply religious, yet uninfected by superstition, — was torn from her children, and sent to jail. Parris had had a rival in George Burroughs, who, having formerly preached in Salem village, had had friends there desirous of his settlement. He, too, a skeptic in witchcraft, was accused and committed. Thus far, there had been no success in obtaining confessions, though earnestly solicited. It had been hinted, also, that confessing was the avenue to safety. At last, in May, Deliverance Hobbs owned every thing that was asked of her, and was left unharmed. The gallows was to be set up, not for those who professed themselves witches, but for those who rebuked the delusion.

Simon Bradstreet, the governor of the people's choice, deemed the evidence insufficient for conviction. On Saturday, the fourteenth of May, the new charter and the royal governor arrived in Boston. On the next Monday, the charter was published, and the parishioner of Cotton Mather, with the royal council, was installed in office. The triumph of Cotton Mather was perfect. Immediately a court of oyer and terminer was instituted by ordinance, and Stoughton appointed by the governor and council its chief judge. By the second of June, the court was in session at Salem, making its first experiment on Bridget Bishop, a poor and friendless old woman. The fact of the witchcraft was assumed as "notorious:" to fix it on the prisoner, Samuel Parris testified to her power of inflicting torture; he had

seen it exercised. Deliverance Hobbs had been whipped with iron rods by her spectre; neighbors, who had quarrelled with her, were willing to lay their little ills to her charge; the poor creature had a preternatural excrescence in her flesh; "she gave a look towards the great and spacious meeting-house of Salem," — it is Cotton Mather who records this, — "and immediately a demon, invisibly entering the house, tore down a part of it." She was a witch by the rules and precedents of Keeble and Sir Matthew Hale, of Perkins and Bernard, of Baxter and Cotton Mather; and, on the tenth of June, protesting her innocence, she was hanged.

Phipps and his council now turned for directions to the ministers of Boston and Charlestown; and from them, by the hand of Cotton Mather, they receive this direful advice — "We recommend the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious." The obedient court, at its next session, condemned five women, all of blameless lives, all declaring their innocence. Four were convicted easily enough; Rebecca Nurse was, at first, acquitted. "The honored court was pleased to object against the verdict;" and, as she had said of the confessing witnesses, "they used to come among us," meaning that they had been prisoners together, Stoughton interpreted the words as of a witch festival. The jury withdrew, and could as yet not agree; but, as the prisoner, who was hard of hearing, and full of grief, made no explanation, they no longer refused to find her guilty. Hardly was the verdict rendered, before the foreman made a statement of the ground of her condemnation, and she sent her declaration to the court in reply. The governor, who himself was not unmerciful, saw cause to grant a reprieve; but Parris had preached against Rebecca Nurse, and prayed against her; had induced "the afflicted" to witness against her; had caused her sisters to be imprisoned for their honorable sympathy. She must perish, or the delusion was unveiled; and the governor recalled the reprieve. On the next communion day, she

was taken in chains to the meeting-house, to be formally excommunicated by Noyes, her minister, and, on the nineteenth of July, was hanged with the rest.

Confessions rose in importance. "Some, by their accusations of others," "hoped to gain time, and get favor from the rulers." And who now would dare to be skeptical? who would disbelieve confessors? Besides, there were other evidences. A callous spot was the mark of the devil: did age or amazement refuse to shed tears; were threats, after a quarrel, followed by the death of cattle, or other harm; did an error occur in repeating the Lord's prayer; were deeds of great physical strength performed; — these all were signs of witchcraft.

On a new session, in August, six are arraigned and convicted. John Willard had, as an officer, been employed to arrest the suspected witches. Perceiving the hypocrisy, he declined the service. The afflicted immediately denounced him, and he was seized, convicted, and hanged.

At the trial of George Burroughs, the bewitched persons pretended to be dumb. "Who hinders these witnesses," said Stoughton, "from giving their testimonies?" "I suppose the devil," answered Burroughs. "How comes the devil," asked Stoughton, "so loath to have any testimony borne against you?" and the question was effective. Besides, Burroughs had given proofs of great, if not preternatural, muscular strength. Cotton Mather calls the evidence "enough:" the jury gave a verdict of guilty.

John Procter, who foresaw his doom, and knew from whom the danger came, sent an earnest petition, not to the governor and council, but to Cotton Mather and the ministers. He begs for a trial in Boston, or, at least, for a change of magistrates. His entreaties were vain, as also his prayers, after condemnation, for a respite.

Among the witnesses against Martha Carrier, the mother saw her own children. Her two sons refused to perjure themselves till they had been tied neck and

heels so long that the blood was ready to gush from them. The confession of her daughter, a child of seven years old, is still preserved.

The aged Jacobs was condemned, in part, by the evidence of Margaret Jacobs, his granddaughter. "Through the magistrates' threatenings and my own vile heart," — thus she wrote to her father, — "I have confessed things contrary to my conscience and knowledge. But, O! the terrors of a wounded conscience who can bear!" And she confessed the whole truth before the magistrates. The magistrates refused their belief, and, confining her for trial, proceeded to hang her grandfather.

These five were condemned on the third, and hanged on the nineteenth, of August. On the ladder, Burroughs cleared his innocence by an earnest speech, repeating the Lord's prayer composedly and exactly, and with a fervency that astonished. Tears flowed to the eyes of many; it seemed as if the spectators would rise up to hinder the execution. Cotton Mather, on horseback among the crowd, addressed the people, cavilling at the ordination of Burroughs, as though he had been no true minister; insisting on his guilt, and hinting that the devil could sometimes assume the appearance of an angel of light: and the hanging proceeded.

On the ninth of September, six women were condemned, and more convictions followed. Giles Cory, the octogenarian, seeing that all were convicted, refused to plead, and was condemned to be pressed to death. The horrid sentence, a barbarous usage of English law, never again followed in the colonies, was executed forthwith.

On the twenty-second of September, eight persons were led to the gallows. Of these, Samuel Wardwell had confessed, and was safe; but, from shame and penitence, he retracted his confession, and, speaking the truth boldly, he was hanged, not for witchcraft, but for denying witchcraft. Martha Cory was, before execution, visited in prison by Parris, the two deacons

and another member of his church. The church record tells that, self-sustained, she "imperiously" rebuked her destroyers, and "they pronounced the dreadful sentence of excommunication against her." In the calmness with which Mary Easty exposed the falsehood of those who had selected from her family so many victims, she joined the noblest fortitude with sweetness of temper, dignity, and resignation. But the chief judge was positive that all had been done rightly, and "was very impatient in hearing any thing that looked another way."

Already twenty persons had been put to death for witchcraft; fifty-five had been tortured or terrified into penitent confessions. With accusations, confessions increased; with confessions, new accusations. Even "the generation of the children of God" were in danger of "falling under that condemnation." The jails were full. Yet the zeal of Stoughton was unabated, and the arbitrary court adjourned to the first Tuesday in November; while Cotton Mather, still eager "to lift up a standard against the infernal enemy," prepared his narrative of "The Wonders of the Invisible World," in the design of promoting "a pious thankfulness to God for justice being so far executed among us."

On the second Wednesday in October, 1692, about a fortnight after the last hanging of eight at Salem, the representatives of the people assembled; and the people of Andover, their minister joining with them, appeared with their remonstrance against the doings of the witch tribunals. "We know not," say they, "who can think himself safe, if the accusations of children, and others under a diabolical influence, shall be received against persons of good fame." Of the discussions that ensued no record is preserved; we know only the issue. The general court did not place itself in direct opposition to the advocates of the trials: it repealed the old colonial law against witchcraft, by adopting the English law, word for word, as it stood in the English statute book: it abrogated the special court, estab-

lishing a tribunal by public law. Phipps still conferred the place of chief judge on Stoughton; yet now, jurors, representing the public mind, would act independently. When the court met at Salem, in January, 1693, the grand jury dismissed more than half of the presentments; and, if it found bills against twenty-six, the trials did but show the feebleness of the testimony on which others had been condemned. The same testimony was produced, and there, at Salem, with Stoughton on the bench, verdicts of acquittal followed. "Error expired amidst its worshippers." Three had, for special reasons, been convicted: one was a wife, whose testimony had sent her husband to the gallows, and whose confession was now used against herself. All were at once reprieved, and soon set free.

Still reluctant to yield, the party of superstition were resolved on one conviction. The victim selected was Sarah Daston, a woman of eighty years old, who for twenty years had enjoyed the undisputed reputation of a witch: if ever there were a witch in the world, she, it was said, was one. In the presence of a throng, the trial went forward at Charlestown: there was more evidence against her than against any at Salem; but the common mind was disenthralled, and asserted itself, through the jury, by a verdict of acquittal.

To cover his confusion, Cotton Mather got up a case of witchcraft in his own parish. The imposture was promptly exposed to ridicule by the unlettered but rational and intelligent Robert Calef. Public opinion, also, asserted its power. The inexorable indignation of the people of Salem village drove Parris from the place. Noyes made a full confession, asking forgiveness always, and consecrating the remainder of his life to deeds of mercy. Sewall, one of the judges, by the frankness and sincerity of his undisguised confession, recovered public esteem. Stoughton and Cotton Mather never repented. The former lived proud, unsatisfied, and unbeloved; the latter attempted to persuade

others and himself that he had not been specially active in the tragedy. But the public mind would not be deceived. His diary proves that he did not wholly escape the rising impeachment from the monitor within; and Cotton Mather, who had sought the foundation of faith in tales of wonders, himself "had temptations to atheism, and to the abandonment of all religion as a mere delusion."

The common mind of Massachusetts was more wise. It never wavered in its faith; more ready to receive every tale from the invisible world, than to gaze on the universe without acknowledging an Infinite Intelligence. Rejecting superstition as tending to cowardice and submission, cherishing religion as the source of courage and the fountain of freedom, the common mind in New England refused henceforward to separate belief and reason. To the west of Massachusetts, and to Connecticut, to which the influence of Cotton Mather and its consequences did not extend, we must look for the unmixed development of the essential character of New England; yet there, also, faith and "common sense" were reconciled.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RELATION OF AMERICAN COLONIES TO EUROPE.

THE people in the charter governments could hope from England for no concession of larger liberties. Instead, therefore, of looking for the reign of absolute right, they were led to reverence the forms of their privileges as exempt from change. We hear no more of the theocracy where God was alone supreme lawgiver and king; no more of the expected triumph of freedom and justice anticipated "in the second coming of Christ:" liberty was defended by asserting the sanctity of com-

pact. But the political morality of England did not recognize the sanctity of the compacts with colonies. It regarded "the regulation of charters as part of the public economy."

Parliament had made itself supreme by electing monarchs and a dynasty for the British dominions. Its legislative power was, in general terms, unquestioned in England even by American agents, and was by itself interpreted to extend over all the colonies, with no limitation but its own pleasure. It was "absolute and unaccountable."

The direct taxation of America for the benefit of the English treasury, was, at that time, not dreamed of. That the respective colonies should contribute to the common defence against the French and Indians, was desired in America — was earnestly enjoined from England; but the demand for quotas was directed to the colonies themselves, and was refused or granted by the colonial assemblies, as their own policy prompted. The want of concert, and the refusal of contributions, readily suggested the interference of parliament, but the proposition seems to have remained unnoticed. The institution of a general post-office was valued as a convenience, not dreaded as a tax. The colonial legislatures had their own budgets; and financial questions arose — Shall the grants be generally for the use of the crown, or carefully limited for specific purposes? Shall the moneys levied be confided to an officer of royal appointment, or to a treasurer responsible to the legislature? Shall the revenue be granted permanently, or from year to year? Shall the salaries of the royal judges and the royal governor be fixed, or depend annually on the popular contentment? These were questions consistent with the relations between metropolis and colony; but the supreme power of parliament to tax at its discretion, was not yet maintained in England — was always denied in America.

The colonial press, in spite of royal instructions, was

generally as free in America as in any part of the world. In matters of religion, intellectual freedom was viewed, in the colonies, as in England, as a Protestant question; and the outcry against "Popery and slavery" generated equally bitter hostility towards the Roman Catholic church. England, moreover, cherished a steady purpose of disseminating Episcopacy; yet the political effect of this endeavor was inconsiderable. The crown did no more than incorporate the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

In the settlement of American disputes, the ultimate appeal was to England; and the English crown gained the appointment of the judges in nearly every colony. Where the people selected them, as in Connecticut and Rhode Island, they were chosen annually, and the public preference, free from fickleness, gave stability to the office; where the appointment rested with the royal governor, the popular instinct desired for the judges an independent tenure.

To "make most of the money centre in England," the proclamation of Queen Anne confirmed to all the colonies a depreciated currency, but endeavored to make the depreciation uniform and safe against change. In a word, England sought to establish for itself a fixed standard of gold and silver; for the colonies, a fixed standard of depreciation. As the necessities of the colonies had led them of themselves to depreciate their currency, the first object of England was gained, and it therefore monopolized all gold and silver. Even the shillings of early coinage in Massachusetts were nearly all gathered up, and remitted; but the equality of depreciation could never be maintained against the rival cupidity of the competitors in bills of credit.

The enforcement of the mercantile system, in its intensest form, is also a characteristic of the policy of the aristocratic revolution of England. By the corn laws, English agriculture became an associate in the system of artificial legislation. "The value of lands" bega

to be urged as a motive for oppressing the colonies. The affairs of the plantations were, in 1696, intrusted permanently to the commissioners who formed the board of trade; and questions on colonial liberty and affairs were decided from the point of view of English commerce. All former acts giving a monopoly of the colonial trade to England were renewed; and, to effect their rigid execution, the paramount authority of parliament was strictly asserted.

Wool was the great staple of England, and its growers and manufacturers envied the colonies the possession of a flock of sheep, a spindle, or a loom. Lest colonial industry should "inevitably sink the value of lands" in England, the woollen fabrics of Connecticut might not seek a market in Massachusetts, or be carried to Albany to traffic with the Indians. An English mariner might not purchase in Boston woollens of a greater value than forty shillings. The mercantile system of England, in its relations with foreign states, sought a convenient tariff; in the colonies, it prohibited industry.

And the intolerable injustice was not perceived. The interests of the landed proprietors, with the monopolies of commerce and manufactures, jointly fostered by artificial legislation, corrupted the public judgment, so that there was no secret compunction. Even the bounty on naval stores was not intended as a compensation, but grew out of the efforts of Sweden to infringe the mercantile system of England, and was accompanied by a proviso which extended the jurisdiction of parliament to every grove north of the Delaware. Every pitch-pine tree, not in an enclosure, was henceforward sacred to the purposes of the English navy; and, in the undivided domain, no tree fit for a mast might be cut without the queen's license. Thus the bounty of the English parliament was blended with monopoly, while the colonists were constantly invited to cease the manufacture of wool, and produce naval stores.

The charters were royal grants, and a parliament which had disfranchised a dynasty disdained to consider

their violation a just ground for resistance. It placed its own power alike above the authority by which they had been conceded, and above the colonies which possessed them. From legislating on commerce and industry, it proceeded to legislate on government; and, if it omitted to startle the colonies by the avowal, it plainly held the maxim as indisputable, that it might legislate for them in all cases whatsoever.

These relations, placing the property, the personal freedom, the industry, the chartered liberties, of the colonies, in the good will, and under "the absolute power," of the English legislature, could not but lead to independence; and the English were the first to perceive the tendency.

The insurrection in New England, in 1689, excited alarm, as an indication of a daring spirit. In 1701, the lords of trade, in a public document, declared, "The independency the colonies thirst after is now notorious." "Commonwealth notions improve daily," wrote Quarry, in 1703; "and, if it be not checked in time, the rights and privileges of English subjects will be thought too narrow." It was observed, in 1705, "The colonists will, in process of time, cast off their allegiance to England, and set up a government of their own;" and by degrees it came to be said, "by people of all conditions and qualities, that their increasing numbers and wealth, joined to their great distance from Britain, would give them an opportunity, in the course of some years, to throw off their dependence on the nation, and declare themselves a free state, if not curbed in time, by being made entirely subject to the crown." "Some great men professed their belief of the feasibility of it, and the probability of its some time or other actually coming to pass."

But if our country, in the inherent opposition between its principles and the English system, was as ripe for governing itself in 1689 as in 1776, the colonists disclaimed, and truly, a present passion for independence. A deep instinct gave assurance that the time was not yet

come. They were not merely colonists of England; they were riveted into an immense colonial system, which every commercial country in Europe had assisted to frame, and which bound in its strong bonds every other quarter of the globe. The question of independence would be not a private strife with England, but a revolution in the commerce and in the policy of the world,—in the present fortunes, and still more in the prospects, of humanity itself.

The discovery of America, and of the ocean-path to India, had created maritime commerce, and the great European colonial system had united the world. Now, for the first time in the history of man, the oceans vindicated their rights as natural highways; now, for the first time, great maritime powers struggled for dominion on the high seas. The world entered on a new epoch.

Ancient navigation kept near the coast, or was but a passage from isle to isle; commerce now selected, of choice, the boundless deep.

The three ancient continents were divided by no wide seas, and their intercourse was chiefly by land. Their voyages were, like ours on Lake Erie, a continuance of internal trade; the vastness of their transactions was measured, not by tonnage, but by counting caravans and camels. But now, for the wilderness, commerce substituted the sea; for camels, merchantmen; for caravans, fleets and convoys.

The ancients were restricted in the objects of commerce; for how could rice be brought across continents from the Ganges, or sugar from Bengal? But now, commerce gathered every production from the East and the West;—tea, sugar, and coffee, from the plantations of China and Hindostan; masts from American forests; furs from Hudson's Bay; men from Africa.

With the expansion of commerce, the forms of business were changing. Larger sums than the whole revenue of an ancient state were transferred from continent to continent by bills of exchange; and when the mercantile system grew strong enough to originate wars, it

also gained power to subject national credit to the floating credits of commerce.

Every commercial state of the earlier world had been but a town with its territory; the Phœnician, Greek, and Italian republics, each was a city government, retaining its municipal character with the enlargement of its jurisdiction and the diffusion of its colonies. The great European maritime powers were vast monarchies, grasping at continents for their plantations. In the tropical isles of America and the East, they made their gardens for the fruits of the torrid zone; the Cordilleras and the Andes supplied their mints with bullion; the most inviting points on the coasts of Africa and Asia were selected as commercial stations; and the temperate regions of America were to be filled with agriculturists, whose swarming increase — such was the universal metropolitan aspiration — should lead to the infinite consumption of European goods.

That the mercantile system should be applied by each nation to its own colonies, was universally tolerated by the political morality of that day. Thus each metropolis was at war with the present interests and natural rights of its colonies; and, as the European colonial system was established on every continent, — as the single colonies were, each by itself, too feeble for resistance, — colonial oppression was destined to endure as long, at least, as the union of the oppressors. But the commercial jealousies of Europe extended, from the first, to European colonies; and the home relations of the states of the Old World to each other were finally surpassed in importance by the transatlantic conflicts with which they were identified. The mercantile system, being founded in error and injustice, was doomed not only itself to expire, but, by overthrowing the mighty fabric of the colonial system, to emancipate commerce, and open a boundless career to human hope.

That colonial system all Western Europe had contributed to build. Portugal was dismantled of her possessions at so early a period, that she was never involved,

as a leading party, in the early wars of North America. But in America there grew up a Spanish world safe against conquest, from its boundless extent, yet doubly momentous to our fathers, from its vicinity and its commercial system. Occupying Florida on our south, Spain was easily involved in controversy with England on the subject of reciprocal territorial encroachments; and, carefully excluding foreigners from all participation in her colonial trade, she could not but arouse the cupidity of English commerce, bent on extending itself, if necessary, by force.

But the two powers, of which the ambition was most actively interested in the colonial system, were France and England, both stern advocates of colonial monopoly, and both jealous competitors for new acquisitions. France, which, through the policy of Colbert and Seignelay, became a great naval power, had given her colonial system an extent even vaster than that of the British. So eager was she in her rivalry on the ocean, so menacing was the competition of her workshops in every article of ingenious manufacture, that the spirit of monopoly set its brand upon language, and men's consciences became so far debauched as to call her the natural enemy of England.

To the causes of animosity, springing from the rivalry in manufactures and in commercial stations, from contrasts in religion, philosophy, opinion, and government, there was added a struggle for territory in North America. Not only in the West Indies, in the East Indies, in Africa, were France and England neighbors, — over far the largest part of our country Louis XIV. claimed to be the sovereign; and the prelude to the overthrow of the European colonial system, which was sure to be also the overthrow of the mercantile system, was destined to be the mighty struggle for the central regions of our republic.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WESTERN NEW YORK AND MICHIGAN.

THE first permanent efforts of French enterprise, in colonizing America, preceded any permanent English settlement north of the Potomac. Years before the Pilgrims anchored within Cape Cod, the Roman church had been planted, by missionaries from France, in the eastern moiety of Maine; and Le Caron, an unambitious Franciscan, the companion of Champlain, had penetrated the land of the Mohawks, had passed to the north into the hunting-grounds of the Wyandots, and, bound by his vows to the life of a beggar, had, on foot, or paddling a bark canoe, gone onward and still onward, taking alms of the savages, till he reached the rivers of Lake Huron.

While Quebec contained scarce fifty inhabitants, priests of the Franciscan order — Le Caron, Viel, Sagar — had labored for years as missionaries in Upper Canada, or made their way to the neutral Huron tribe that dwelt on the waters of the Niagara.

Religious zeal, not less than commercial ambition, had influenced France to recover Canada; and the genius of Champlain could devise no method of building up enduring establishments for French commerce, and carrying the lilies of the Bourbons to the extremity of North America, but an alliance with the Hurons, or of confirming that alliance, but the establishment of missions.

The history of the labors of Jesuit priests is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America; not a cape was turned, nor a river entered, but they led the way.

Behold, then, the Jesuits Brebeuf and Daniel, soon to be followed by the gentler Lallemand, and many others of their order, in 1634, bowing meekly in obedience to

their vows, and joining a party of barefoot Hurons, who were returning from Quebec to their country. The journey, by way of the Ottáwa and the rivers that interlock with it, was one of more than three hundred leagues, through a region horrible with forests. All day long, the missionaries must wade, or handle the oar. At night, there is no food for them but a scanty measure of Indian corn mixed with water; their couch is the earth or the rocks. At five-and-thirty waterfalls, the canoe is to be carried on the shoulders for leagues through thickest woods, or over roughest regions; fifty times, it was dragged by hand through shallows and rapids, over sharpest stones; and thus, swimming, wading, paddling, or bearing the canoe across the portages, — with garments torn, with feet mangled, yet with the breviary safely hung round the neck, and vows, as they advanced, to meet death twenty times over, if it were possible, for the honor of St. Joseph, — the devoted envoys made their way, by rivers, lakes, and forests, from Quebec to the heart of the Huron wilderness. There, to the north-west of Lake Toronto, near the shore of Lake Iroquois, which is but a bay of Lake Huron, they raised the first humble house of the Society of Jesus among the Hurons — the cradle, it was said, of his church who dwelt at Bethlehem in a cottage.

The life of a missionary on Lake Huron was simple and uniform. The earliest hours, from four to eight, were absorbed in private prayer; the day was given to schools, visits, instruction in the catechism, and a service for proselytes. Sometimes, after the manner of St. Francis Xavier, Brebeuf would walk through the village and its environs, ringing a little bell, and inviting the Huron braves and counsellors to a conference. There, under the shady forest, the most solemn mysteries of the Catholic faith were subjected to discussion. It was by such means that the sentiment of piety was unfolded in the breast of the great warrior Ahasistari. Nature had planted in his mind the seeds of religious faith. “Before you came to this country,” he would

say, "when I have incurred the greatest perils, and have alone escaped, I have said to myself, 'Some powerful spirit has the guardianship of my days;'" and he professed his belief in Jesus, as the good genius and protector, whom he had before unconsciously adored. After trials of his sincerity, he was baptized; and, enlisting a troop of converts, savages like himself, "Let us strive," he exclaimed, "to make the whole world embrace the faith in Jesus."

The news from this Huron Christendom awakened in France the strongest sympathy. To confirm the missions, in 1635, a college was founded at Quebec. A public hospital, also, was opened, not only to the sufferers among the emigrants, but to the maimed, the sick, and the blind of any of the numerous tribes between the Kennebec and Lake Superior; it received misfortune without asking its lineage. From the hospital nuns of Dieppe three were selected, the youngest but twenty-two, the eldest but twenty-nine, to brave the famine and the rigors of Canada in their patient missions of benevolence. At the same time, in 1639, was established the Ursuline convent for the education of girls; while, at Sillery, a colony of the Hurons was to be trained to the faith and the manners of civilization.

Of Montreal, selected to be a nearer rendezvous for converted Indians, possession was taken, in 1640, by a solemn mass, celebrated beneath a tent. In August, 1641, in the presence of the French gathered from all parts of Canada, and of the native warriors summoned from the wilderness, the festival of the assumption was solemnized on the island itself. Henceforward, the hearth of the sacred fires of the Wyandots was consecrated to the Virgin. "There the Mohawk and the feebler Algonquin," said Le Jeune, "shall make their home; the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and a little child shall guide them."

Within six years after the recovery of Canada, the plan was formed of establishing missions, not only

among the Algonquins in the north, but south of Lake Huron, in Michigan, and at Green Bay.

In the autumn of 1640, Charles Raymbault and Claude Pijart reached the Huron missions, destined for service among the Algonquins of the north and the west. By continual warfare with the Mohawks, the French had been excluded from the navigation of Lake Ontario, and had never even launched a canoe on Lake Erie. Their avenue to the west was by way of the Ottáwa and French River; so that the whole coast of Ohio and Southern Michigan remained unknown, except as seen by missionaries from their stations in Canada. In 1640, Brebeuf had been sent to the villages of the neutral nation which occupied the territory on the Niagara. Of these some villages were extended, on the southern shore of Lake Erie, beyond Buffalo; but it is not certain that Brebeuf visited them, or that he was at any time on the soil of our republic. His mission perfected the knowledge of the great watercourse of the valley of the St. Lawrence. "Could we but gain the mastery," it was said, "of the shore of Ontario on the side nearest the abode of the Iroquois, we could ascend by the St. Lawrence, without danger, and pass free beyond Niagara, with a great saving of time and pains." Thus did Jesuits see the necessity of possessing a post in Western New York, seven years after the restoration of Quebec. The country on the sea was held by the Dutch; that part of New York which is watered by streams that flow to the St. Lawrence, was first visited exclusively by the French.

But the fixed hostility and the power of the Five Nations left no hope of success in gaining safe intercourse by the St. Lawrence. To preserve the avenue to the west by the Ottáwa, Pijart and Charles Raymbault, in 1640, on their pilgrimage to the Huron country, attempted the conversion of the roving tribes that were masters of the highways; and, in 1641, they roamed as missionaries with the Algonquins of Lake Nipissing.

Towards the close of summer, these wandering tribes prepared to celebrate "their festival of the dead," — to gather up the bones of their deceased friends, and give them jointly an honorable sepulchre. To this ceremony all the confederate nations were invited; and, as they approach the shore, on a deep bay in Lake Iroquois, their canoes advance in regular array, and the representatives of nations leap on shore, uttering exclamations and cries of joy, which the rocks echo. The long cabin for the dead had been prepared; their bones are nicely disposed in coffins of bark, and wrapped in such furs as the wealth of Europe would have coveted; the mourning-song of the war-chiefs had been chanted, all night long, to the responsive wails of the women. The farewell to the dead, the dances, the councils, the presents, — all were finished. But, before the assembly dispersed, the Jesuits, by their presents and their festivals, had won new affection, and an invitation was given to visit the nation of Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie.

For the leader of this first invasion of the soil of our republic in the west, Charles Raymbault was selected; and, as Hurons were his attendants, Isaac Jogues was given him as a companion.

It was on the seventeenth day of September, 1641, that the birch-bark canoe, freighted with the first envoys from Christendom, left the Bay of Penetanguishene for the Falls of St. Mary. Passing to the north, they floated over a wonted track till beyond the French River; then they passed onward over the beautifully clear waters and between the thickly clustering archipelagoes of Lake Huron, beyond the Manitoulins and other isles along the shore, to the straits that form the outlet of Lake Superior. There, at the falls, after a navigation of seventeen days, they found an assembly of many hundred souls. They made inquiries respecting many nations, who had never known Europeans, and had never heard of the one God. Among other nations, they heard of the Nadowessies, the famed

Sioux, who dwelt eighteen days' journey farther to the west, beyond the Great Lake, then still without a name — warlike tribes, with fixed abodes, cultivators of maize and tobacco, of an unknown race and language. Thus did the religious zeal of the French bear the cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of Lake Superior, and look wistfully towards the homes of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississippi, five years before the New England Eliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston harbor.

The chieftains of the Chippewas invited the Jesuits to dwell among them, and hopes were inspired of a permanent mission. A council was held. "We will embrace you," said they, "as brothers; we will derive profit from your words."

After this excursion of discovery, Raymbault designed to rejoin the Algonquins of Nipissing, but the climate forbade; and, late in the season, he returned to the harbor of the Huron missions, wasting away with consumption. In midsummer of the next year, he descended to Quebec. After languishing till October, the self-denying man, who had glowed with the hope of bearing the gospel across the continent, through all the American Barbary, even to the ocean that divides America from China, ceased to live; and the body of this first apostle of Christianity to the tribes of Michigan was buried in "the particular sepulchre" which the justice of that age had "erected expressly to honor the memory of the illustrious" Champlain.

Thus the climate made one martyr; — the companion of Raymbault was destined to encounter a far more dreaded foe. From the Falls of St. Mary, Jogues had repaired to the Huron missions, and thence, in June, 1642, with the escort of Ahasistari and other Huron braves, he descended by the Ottáwa and St. Lawrence to Quebec. On the first of August, on his return with a larger fleet of canoes, a band of Mohawks lay in wait for the pilgrims, as they ascended the St. Lawrence.

"There can be but three canoes of them," said Ahasistari, as, at daybreak, he examined their trail on the shore: "there is nothing to fear," added this bravest of the braves. Unhappy confidence! The Mohawks, from their ambush, attacked the canoes, as they neared the land: the thin bark is perforated: of the Hurons and the few Frenchmen, some make for the shore, to find security in the forests. Jogues might have escaped also; but there were with him converts, who had not yet been baptized, — and when did a Jesuit missionary seek to save his own life at what he believed the risk of a soul? Ahasistari had gained a hiding-place: observing Jogues to be a captive, he returned to him, saying, "My brother, I made oath to thee that I would share thy fortune, whether death or life; here am I to keep my vow."

The horrible inflictions of savage cruelty ensued, and were continued all the way from the St. Lawrence to the Mohawk. There, for days and nights, they were abandoned to hunger and every torment which petulant youth could devise. Three Hurons were condemned to the flames. The brave Ahasistari, having received absolution, met his end with the enthusiasm of a convert and the pride of the most gallant war-chief of his tribe. Sad was the fate of the captive novice, René Goupil. He had been seen to make the sign of the cross on an infant's brow. "He will destroy the village by his charms," said his master; and, summoned while reciting, alternately with Jogues, the rosary of the Virgin, a blow with the tomahawk laid him lifeless.

Father Jogues had expected the same fate; but his life was spared, and his liberty enlarged. On a hill apart, he carved a long cross on a tree, and there, in the solitude, meditated the imitation of Christ, and soothed his griefs by reflecting that he alone, in that vast region, adored the true God of earth and heaven. Roaming through the stately forests of the Mohawk valley, he wrote the name of Jesus on the bark of trees, graved the cross, and entered into possession of

these countries in the name of God, — often lifting up his voice in a solitary chant. Thus did France bring its banner and its faith to the confines of Albany. The missionary himself was humanely ransomed from captivity by the Dutch, and, sailing for France, soon returned to Canada.

Similar was the fate of Father Bressani. In May, 1644, taken prisoner by the Mohawks, while on his way to the Hurons; beaten, mangled, mutilated; driven barefoot over rough paths, through briars and thickets; scourged by a whole village; burned, tortured, wounded, and scarred, — he was eye-witness to the fate of one of his companions, who was boiled and eaten. Yet some mysterious awe protected his life, and he, too, was, at last, humanely rescued by the Dutch.

Meantime, to make good the possession of the country, a treaty of peace is sought by the French with the Five Nations, and, in 1645, a great meeting is held at Three Rivers. There are the French officers in their magnificence; there the five Iroquois deputies, couched upon mats, bearing strings of wampum. It was agreed to smooth the forest-path, to calm the river, to hide the tomahawk. "Let the clouds be dispersed," said the Iroquois; "let the sun shine on all the land between us." The Algonquins joined in the peace. "Here is a skin of a moose," said Nega-bamat, chief of the Montaguez; "make moccasins for the Mohawk deputies, lest they wound their feet on their way home." "We have thrown the hatchet," said the Mohawks, "so high into the air, and beyond the skies, that no arm on earth can reach to bring it down. The French shall sleep on our softest blankets, by the warm fire, that shall be kept blazing all the night long. The shades of our braves that have fallen in war, have gone so deep into the earth, that they never can be heard calling for revenge." "I place a stone on their grave," said Pieskaret, "that no one may move their bones."

With greater sincerity, the Abenakis of Maine,

touched by the charities of Silleri, had solicited missionaries. Conversion to Catholic Christianity would establish their warlike tribes as a wakeful barrier against New England; and, in August, 1646, Father Gabriel Dreuilletes, first of Europeans, made the long and painful journey from the St. Lawrence to the sources of the Kennebec, and, descending that stream to its mouth, in a bark canoe continued his roamings on the open sea along the coast. The cross was already planted there, — raised by the disciples of St. Francis of Assisi over their humble lodge near the mouth of the Penobscot. After a short welcome, the earnest apostle returned to the wilderness; and, a few miles above the mouth of the Kennebec, the Indians, in large numbers, gathered about him, building a rude chapel. In the winter, he was their companion in their long excursions in quest of game. Who can tell all the hazards that were encountered? The sharp rocks in the channel of the river were full of perils for the frail canoe; winter turned the solitudes into a wilderness of snow; the rover, Christian or pagan, must carry about with him his house, his furniture, and his food. But the Jesuit succeeded in winning the affections of the savages; and, in June, 1647, after a pilgrimage of ten months, an escort of thirty conducted him to Quebec, full of health and joy.

Thus, in September, 1646, within fourteen years from the restoration of Quebec, France, advancing rapidly towards a widely-extended dominion in North America, had its outposts on the Kennebec, and on the shores of Lake Huron, and had approached the settlements round Albany. The missionaries, exalted by zeal, enjoyed a fearless tranquillity, and were pledged to obedience unto death.

After the treaty of peace of 1645, for one winter, Algonquins, Wyandots, and Iroquois, joined in the chase. The wilderness seemed hushed into repose. Negotiations also were continued. In May, 1646, Father Jogues, commissioned as an envoy, was hospita-

bly received by the Mohawks, and gained an opportunity of offering the friendship of France to the Onondagas. On his return, his favorable report raised a desire of establishing a permanent mission among the Five Nations; and he himself, the only one who knew their dialect, was selected as its founder. "*Ibo, et non redibo*" — I shall go, but shall never return — were his words of farewell. Arriving, in October, at the Mohawk castles, he was received as a prisoner, and, against the voice of the other nations, was condemned by the grand council of the Mohawks as an enchanter, who had blighted their harvest. Timid by nature, yet tranquil from zeal, he approached the cabin where the death-festival was kept, and, as he entered, received the death-blow. His head was hung upon the palisades of the village, his body thrown into the Mohawk River.

This was the signal for war. The Iroquois renewed their invasions of the Huron country. In vain did the French seek to engage New England as an ally in the contest. The Huron nation was doomed; the ancient clans of the Wyandots were to be exterminated or scattered; and the missionaries on the Matchedash shared the dangers of the tribes with whom they dwelt. Each sedentary mission was a special point of attraction to the invader, and each, therefore, was liable to the horrors of an Indian massacre. On the morning of July 4, 1648, the villagers of St. Joseph, with Father Anthony Daniel, fell victims to the madness of destruction.

Not a year elapsed, when, on the sixteenth of March, 1649, in the dead of a Canadian winter, a party of a thousand Iroquois fell, before dawn, upon the little village of St. Ignatius. It was sufficiently fortified, but only four hundred persons were present, and there were no sentinels. The palisades were set on fire, and an indiscriminate massacre of the sleeping inhabitants followed.

The village of St. Louis was alarmed, and its women

and children fly to the woods, while eighty warriors prepare a defence. A breach is made in the palisades; the enemy enter; and the group of Indian cabins becomes a slaughter-house. In this village resided Jean de Brebeuf, and the younger and gentler, yet not less patient, Gabriel Lallemand. The character of Brebeuf was firm beyond every trial;—his virtue had been nursed in the familiar sight of death. Disciplined by twenty years' service in the wilderness work, he wept bitterly for the sufferings of his converts, but for himself he exulted in the prospect of martyrdom.

Success was with the Mohawks: the Jesuit priests were now their prisoners, to endure all the tortures which the ruthless fury of a raging multitude could invent. Brebeuf was set apart on a scaffold, and, in the midst of every outrage, rebuked his persecutors, and encouraged his Huron converts. They cut his lower lip and his nose; applied burning torches to his body; burned his gums, and thrust hot iron down his throat. Deprived of his voice, his assured countenance and confiding eye still bore witness to his firmness.

The delicate Lallemand was stripped naked, and enveloped from head to foot with bark full of rosin. Brought into the presence of Brebeuf, he exclaimed, "We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men." The pine bark was set on fire, and, when it was in a blaze, boiling water was poured on the heads of both the missionaries. The voice of Lallemand was choked by the thick smoke; but, the fire having snapped his bonds, he lifted his hands to heaven, imploring the aid of Him who is an aid to the weak. Brebeuf was scalped while yet alive, and died after a torture of three hours; the sufferings of Lallemand were prolonged for seventeen hours. The lives of both had been a continual heroism; their deaths were the astonishment of their executioners.

It may be asked, if these massacres quenched enthusiasm. The Jesuits never receded one foot; but as, in a brave army, new troops press forward to fill

the places of the fallen, there were never wanting heroism and enterprise in behalf of the cross and French dominion.

But the great point of desire was the conversion of the Five Nations themselves. Undismayed by barbarism, or the martyrdom of their brethren, the missionaries were still eager to gain admission; but the Mohawks, and the other tribes, having now, through commerce with the Dutch, learned the use of fire-arms, seemed resolved on asserting their power in every direction,—not only over the barbarians of the north, the west, and the south-west, but over the French themselves. They bade defiance to forts and intrenchments; their war parties triumphed at Three Rivers, were too powerful for the palisades of Sillery, and proudly passed by the walls of Quebec. The Ottawas were driven from their old abodes to the forests on the Bay of Saginaw. No frightful solitude in the wilderness, no impenetrable recess in the frozen north, was safe against the passions of the Five Nations. Their chiefs, animated not by cruelty only, but by pride, were resolved that no nook should escape their invasions; that no nation should rule but themselves; and, as their warriors strolled by Three Rivers and Quebec, they killed the governor of the one settlement, and carried off a priest from the other.

At length, satisfied with the display of their power, they themselves desired rest. Besides, of the scattered Hurons, many had sought refuge among their oppressors, and, according to an Indian custom, had been incorporated with the tribes of the Five Nations. Of these, some retained affection for the French. When, in 1654, peace was concluded, and Father Lemoyne appeared as envoy among the Onondagas to ratify the treaty, he found there a multitude of Hurons, who, like the Jews at Babylon, retained their faith in a land of strangers. The hope was renewed of winning the whole west and north to Christendom. Not the western tribes only, even the Mohawks relented; and Le Moyne, selecting the banks of their river for his abode,

resolved to persevere, in the vain hope of infusing into their savage nature the gentler spirit of civilization.

The Onondagas were more sincere ; and when, in 1655, Chaumonot, an Italian priest, long a missionary among the Hurons, left Quebec for their territory, he was accompanied by Claude Dablon, a missionary, who had recently arrived from France. In November, they were hospitably welcomed at Onondaga, the principal village of the tribe. A general convention was held, by their desire ; before the multitudinous assembly of the chiefs and the whole people, gathered under the open sky, among the primeval forests, the presents were delivered ; and the Italian Jesuit, with much gesture, after the Italian manner, discoursed so eloquently to the crowd, that it seemed to Dablon as if the word of God had been preached to all the nations of that land. On the next day, the chiefs and others crowded round the Jesuits, with their songs of welcome. " Happy land ! " they sang ; " happy land ! in which the French are to dwell ; " and the chief led the chorus, — " Glad tidings ! glad tidings ! it is well that we have spoken together ; it is well that we have a heavenly message." At once, a chapel sprung into existence, and, by the zeal of the natives, was finished in a day. " For marbles and precious metals," writes Dablon, " we employed only bark ; but the path to heaven is as open through a roof of bark as through arched ceilings of silver and gold ; " and there, in the heart of New York, the solemn services of the Roman church were chanted as securely as in any part of Christendom. The charter of the hundred associates included the basin of every tributary of the St. Lawrence. The Onondagas dwelt exclusively on the Oswego and its tributary waters : their land was, therefore, a part of the empire of France. The cross and the lily, emblems of France and Christianity, were now known in the basin of the Oswego.

The success of the mission encouraged Dablon to invite a French colony into the land of the Onondagas ; and, though the attempt excited the jealousy of the

Mohawks, in May, 1656, a company of fifty Frenchmen embarked for Onondaga. Diffuse harangues, dances, songs, and feastings, were their welcome from the Indians. In July, at a general convocation of the tribe, the question of adopting Christianity as its religion was debated; and sanguine hope already included the land of the Onondagas as a part of Christendom. The chapel, too small for the throng of worshippers that assembled to the sound of its little bell, was enlarged. The Cayugas also desired a missionary, and they received the fearless René Mesnard. In their village, a chapel was erected, with mats for the tapestry; and there the pictures of the Savior and of the Virgin Mother were unfolded to the admiring children of the wilderness. The Oneidas also listened to the missionary; and, early in 1657, Chaumonot reached the more fertile and more densely peopled land of the Senecas. The influence of France was planted in the beautiful valleys of Western New York. The Jesuit priests published their faith from the Mohawk to the Genesee, Onondaga remaining the central station.

But the savage nature of the tribes was unchanged. At this very time, a ruthless war of extermination was waged against the nation of Erie, and in the north of Ohio. The crowded hamlet became a scene of carnage. Prisoners, too, were brought home to the villages, and delivered to the flames;—and what could the Jesuits expect of nations who could burn even children with refinements of tortures? “Our lives,” said Mesnard, “are not safe.” In Quebec, and in France, men trembled for the missionaries. They pressed upon the steps of their countrymen who had been boiled and roasted; they made their home among cannibals; hunger, thirst, nakedness, were to be encountered; nature itself offered trials; and the first colony of the French, making its home near the Lake of Onondaga, and encountering the forest with the axe, suffered from fever before they could prepare their tenements. Border collisions also continued. The Oneidas

murdered three Frenchmen, and the French retaliated by seizing Iroquois. At last, when a conspiracy was framed in the tribe of the Onondagas, the French, having vainly solicited reënforcements, in March, 1658, abandoned their chapel, their cabins, and their hearths, and the valley of the Oswego. The Mohawks compelled Le Moyne to return; and the French and the Five Nations were once more at war. Such was the issue of the most successful attempt at French colonization in New York.

CHAPTER XL.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

MEANTIME the Jesuits reached our country in the far west. In August, 1654, two young fur traders, smitten with the love of adventure, joined a band of the Ottawas, or other Algonquins, and, in their little gondolas of bark, ventured on a voyage of five hundred leagues. After two years, they reappeared, accompanied by a fleet of fifty canoes. The natives ascend the cliff of St. Louis, welcomed by a salute from the ordnance of the castle. They describe the vast lakes of the west, and the numerous tribes that hover round them; they speak of the Knisteneaux, whose homes stretched away to the Northern Sea, — of the powerful Sioux, who dwelt beyond Lake Superior; and they demand commerce with the French and missionaries for the boundless west.

The request was eagerly granted; and, in August, 1656, Gabriel Dreuillettes, the same who carried the cross through the forests of Maine, and Leonard Gareau, of old a missionary among the Hurons, were selected as the first religious envoys to a land of sacrifices, shadows, and deaths. The canoes are launched; the tawny mariners embark; the oars flash; and sounds of joy and

triumph mingle with the last adieus. But, just below Montreal, a band of Mohawks, enemies to the Ottawas, awaited the convoy; in the affray, Gareau was mortally wounded, and the fleet dispersed.

The western Indians still desired commerce with the French, that they might gain means to resist the Iroquois; and, as furs were abundant there, the traders pressed forward to Green Bay. Two of them dared to pass the winter of 1659 on the banks of Lake Superior. Enriched with knowledge of the western world, in the summer of 1660, they came down to Quebec, with an escort of sixty canoes, rowed by three hundred Algonquins, and laden with peltry.

If the Five Nations can penetrate these remote regions to satiate their passion for blood, if mercantile enterprise can bring furs from the plains of the Sioux, why cannot the cross be borne to their cabins, and the name of the king of France be pronounced in their councils? The zeal of Francis de Laval, the bishop of Quebec, kindled with a desire himself to enter on the mission; but the lot fell to René Mesnard. He was charged to visit Green Bay and Lake Superior, and, on a convenient inlet, to establish a residence as the common place of assembly for the surrounding nations. His departure was immediate, and with few preparations; for he trusted—such are his words—“in the Providence which feeds the little birds of the desert, and clothes the wild flowers of the forests.” Every personal motive seemed to retain him at Quebec; but “powerful instincts” impelled him to the enterprise. Obedient to his vows, in August, 1660, the aged man entered on the path that was red with the blood of his predecessors, and made haste to scatter the seeds of truth through the wilderness, even though the sower cast his seed in weeping. “In three or four months,” he wrote to a friend, “you may add me to the memento of deaths.” In October, he reached the bay which he called St. Theresa, and which may have been the Bay of Keweenaw, on the south shore of Lake Superior. In 1661, after a resi-

dence of eight months, he yielded to the invitation of Hurons who had taken refuge in the Isle of St. Michael; and, bidding farewell to his neophytes and the French, and to those whom he never more should meet on earth, he departed, with one attendant, for the Bay of Che-goi-me-gon. The accounts would indicate that he took the route by way of Keweena Lake and Portage. There, while his attendant was employed in the labor of transporting the canoe, Mesnard was lost in the forest, and was never again seen. Long afterwards, his cassock and his breviary were kept as amulets among the Sioux.

Meantime the colony of New France was too feeble to defend itself against the dangerous fickleness and increasing confidence of the Iroquois. The company of the hundred associates resolved, therefore, to resign it to the king; and, in February, 1663, under the auspices of Colbert, it was conceded to the new company of the West Indies.

A powerful appeal was made, in favor of Canada, to the king: the company of Jesuits publicly invited him to assume its defence, and become their champion against the Iroquois. After various efforts at fit appointments, the year 1665 saw the colony of New France protected by a royal regiment, with the aged but indefatigable Tracy as viceroy; with Courcelles, a veteran soldier, as governor; and with Talon, a man of business and of integrity, as intendant and representative of the king in civil affairs.

Undismayed by the sad fate of Gareau and Mesnard, — indifferent to hunger, nakedness, and cold, to the wreck of the ships of bark, and to fatigues and weariness, by night and by day, — in August, 1665, Father Claude Alloëz embarked on a mission, by way of the Ot-táwa, to the far west; and, on the first day of October, he arrived at the great village of the Chippewas, in the Bay of Che-goi-me-gon. It was at a moment when the young warriors were bent on a strife with the warlike Sioux. A grand council of ten or twelve neighboring nations

was held to wrest the hatchet from the hands of the rash braves; and Alloüez was admitted to an audience before the vast assembly. In the name of Louis XIV. and his viceroy, he commanded peace, and offered commerce and an alliance against the Iroquois: the soldiers of France would smooth the path between the Chippewas and Quebec; would brush the pirate canoes from the rivers; would leave to the Five Nations no choice but between tranquillity and destruction. On the shore of the bay, to which the abundant fisheries attracted crowds, a chapel soon rose, and the mission of the Holy Spirit was founded. There admiring throngs, who had never seen a European, came to gaze on the white man, and on the pictures which he displayed of the realms of hell and of the last judgment; there a choir of Chippewas were taught to chant the pater and the ave. During his long sojourn, he lighted the torch of faith for more than twenty different nations. The dwellers round the Sault, a band of "the Outehibouec," as the Jesuits called the Chippewas, pitched their tents near his cabin for a month, and received his instructions. The scattered Hurons and Ottawas, that roamed the deserts north of Lake Superior, appealed to his compassion, and, before his return, obtained his presence in their morasses. From the unexplored recesses of Lake Michigan came the Potawatomes; and these worshippers of the sun invited him to their homes. The Sacs and Foxes travelled on foot from their country, which abounded in deer, and beaver, and buffalo. The Illinois, also, — a hospitable race, unaccustomed to canoes, having no weapon but the bow and arrow, — came to rehearse their sorrows. Their ancient glory and their numbers had been diminished by the Sioux, on the one side, and the Iroquois, armed with muskets, on the other. Curiosity was roused by their tale of the noble river on which they dwelt, and which flowed towards the south. "They had no forests, but, instead of them, vast prairies, where herds of deer, and buffalo, and other animals, grazed on the tall grasses." They explained, also, the wonders of their peace-

pipe, and declared it their custom to welcome the friendly stranger with shouts of joy. "Their country," said Alloüez, "is the best field for the gospel. Had I had leisure, I would have gone to their dwellings, to see with my own eyes all the good that was told me of them."

Then, too, at the very extremity of the lake, the missionary met the wild, impassive warriors of the Sioux, who dwelt to the west of Lake Superior, in a land of prairies, with wild rice for food, and skins of beasts, instead of bark, for roofs to their cabins, on the banks of the Great River, of which Alloüez reported the name to be "Messipi."

After residing for nearly two years chiefly on the southern margin of Lake Superior, and connecting his name imperishably with the progress of discovery in the west, in August, 1667, Alloüez returned to Quebec, to urge the establishment of permanent missions, to be accompanied by little colonies of French emigrants; — and such was his own fervor, such the earnestness with which he was seconded, that, in two days, with another priest, Louis Nicolas, for his companion, he was on his way, returning to the mission at Che-goi-me-gon.

The prevalence of peace favored the progress of French dominion; the company of the West Indies, resigning its monopoly of the fur trade, gave an impulse to Canadian enterprise; a recruit of missionaries had arrived from France; and, in 1668, Claude Dablon and James Marquette repaired to the Chippewas at the Sault, to establish the mission of St. Mary. It is the oldest settlement begun by Europeans within the present limits of the commonwealth of Michigan.

For the succeeding years, the illustrious triumvirate, Alloüez, Dablon, and Marquette, were employed in confirming the influence of France in the vast regions that extend from Green Bay to the head of Lake Superior, — mingling happiness with suffering, and winning enduring glory by their fearless perseverance. For to what inclemencies, from nature and from man, was each

missionary among the barbarians exposed! He defies the severity of climate, wading through water or through snows, without the comfort of fire; having no bread but pounded maize, and often no food but the unwholesome moss from the rocks; laboring incessantly; exposed to live, as it were, without nourishment, to sleep without a resting-place, to travel far, and always incurring perils,—to carry his life in his hand, or rather daily, and oftener than every day, to hold it up as a target, expecting captivity, death from the tomahawk, tortures, fire. And yet the simplicity and the freedom of life in the wilderness had their charms. The heart of the missionary would swell with delight, as, under a serene sky, and with a mild temperature, and breathing a pure air, he moved over waters as transparent as the most limpid fountain. Every encampment offered his attendants the pleasures of the chase. Like a patriarch, he dwelt beneath a tent; and of the land through which he walked, he was its master, in the length of it and in the breadth of it, profiting by its productions, without the embarrassment of ownership. How often was the pillow of stones like that where Jacob felt the presence of God! How often did the ancient oak, of which the centuries were untold, seem like the tree of Mamre, beneath which Abraham broke bread with angels! Each day gave the pilgrim a new site for his dwelling, which the industry of a few moments would erect, and for which nature provided a floor of green inlaid with flowers. On every side clustered beauties, which art had not spoiled, and could not imitate.

The purpose of discovering the Mississippi, of which the tales of the natives had published the magnificence, sprung from Marquette himself. He had resolved on attempting it, in the autumn of 1669; and, when delay intervened, from the necessity of employing himself at Che-goi-me-gon, which Alloüez had exchanged for a new mission at Green Bay, he selected a young Illinois as a companion, by whose instructions he became familiar with the dialect of that tribe.

Continued commerce with the French gave protection to the Algonquins of the west, and confirmed their attachment. A political interest grew up, and extended to Colbert and the ministry of Louis XIV. It became the fixed purpose of Talon, the intendant of the colony, to spread the power of France to the utmost borders of Canada. To this end, in 1670, Nicolas Perrot, as his agent in the west, proposed a congress of the nations at St. Mary's. The invitation reached the tribes of Lake Superior, and was carried even to the wandering hordes of the remotest north. Nor did the messenger neglect the south: obtaining, at Green Bay, an escort of Potawatomes, he, the first of Europeans, repaired on the same mission of friendship to the Miamis at Chicago.

In May, 1671, the day appointed for the unwonted spectacle of the congress of nations arrived; and, with Allouez as his interpreter, St. Lussou, fresh from an excursion to Southern Canada, — that is, the borders of the Kennebec, — appeared at the Falls of St. Mary as the delegate of Talon. There were assembled the envoys of the wild republicans of the wilderness, and brilliantly-clad officers from the veteran armies of France. It was formally announced to the natives, gathered, as they were, from the head-springs of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Red River, that they were placed under the protection of the French king. A cross of cedar was raised: and, amidst the groves of maple and pine, of elm and hemlock, that are strangely intermingled on the beautiful banks of the St. Mary, where the bounding river lashes its waters into snowy whiteness, as they hurry past the dark evergreen of the tufted islands in the channel, — the whole company of the French, bowing before the emblem of man's redemption, chanted to its glory a hymn of the seventh century: —

“Vexilla Regis prodeunt;
Fulget crucis mysterium.”

The banners of heaven's King advance;
The mystery of the cross shines forth.

By the side of the cross a cedar column was planted, and marked with the lilies of the Bourbons. Thus were the authority and the faith of France uplifted, in the presence of the ancient races of America, in the heart of our continent. Yet this daring ambition of the servants of a military monarch was doomed to leave no abiding monument,—this echo of the middle age to die away.

In the same year, Marquette gathered the wandering remains of one branch of the Huron nation round a chapel at Point St. Ignace, on the continent north of the peninsula of Michigan. The climate was repulsive; but fish abounded, at all seasons, in the strait; and the establishment was long maintained as the key to the west, and the convenient rendezvous of the remote Algonquins. Here, also, Marquette once more gained a place among the founders of Michigan.

In 1672, the countries south of the village founded by Marquette were explored by Alloüez and Dablon, who bore the cross through Eastern Wisconsin and the north of Illinois, visiting the Mascoutins and the Kickapoos on the Milwaukee, and the Miamis at the head of Lake Michigan. The young men of the latter tribe were intent on an excursion against the Sioux, and they prayed to the missionaries to give them the victory. After finishing the circuit, Alloüez, fearless of danger, extended his rambles to the cabins of the Foxes, on the river which bears their name.

The long-expected discovery of the Mississippi was at hand, to be accomplished by Joliet, of Quebec,—of whom there is no record, but of this one excursion, that gives him immortality,—and by Marquette, who, after years of pious assiduity to the poor wrecks of Hurons, whom he planted, near abundant fisheries, on the cold extremity of Michigan, entered, with equal humility, upon a career which exposed his life to perpetual danger, and, by its results, affected the destiny of nations.

The enterprise projected by Marquette had been

favoured by Talon, the intendant of New France, who, on the point of quitting Canada, wished to signalize the last period of his stay by ascertaining if the French, descending the great river of the central west, could bear the banner of France to the Pacific, or plant it, side by side with that of Spain, on the Gulf of Mexico.

A branch of the Potawatomes, familiar with Marquette as a missionary, heard with wonder the daring proposal. "Those distant nations," said they, "never spare the strangers; their mutual wars fill their borders with bands of warriors; the Great River abounds in monsters, which devour both men and canoes; the excessive heats occasion death." "I shall gladly lay down my life for the salvation of souls," replied the good father; and the docile nation joined him in prayer.

At the last village on Fox River ever visited by the French, — where Kickapoos, Mascoutins, and Miamis, dwelt together on a beautiful hill in the centre of prairies and magnificent groves, that extended as far as the eye could reach, and where Alloüez had already raised the cross, which the savages had ornamented with brilliant skins and crimson belts, a thank-offering to the Great Manitou, — the ancients assembled in council to receive the pilgrims. "My companion," said Marquette, "is an envoy of France to discover new countries; and I am ambassador from God to enlighten them with the gospel;" and, offering presents, he begged two guides for the morrow. The wild men answered courteously, and gave in return a mat, to serve as a couch during the long voyage.

Behold, then, in 1673, on the tenth day of June, the meek, single-hearted, unpretending, illustrious Marquette, with Joliet for his associate, five Frenchmen as his companions, and two Algonquins as guides, lifting their two canoes on their backs, and walking across the narrow portage that divides the Fox River from the Wisconsin. They reach the water-shed: uttering a special prayer to the immaculate Virgin, they leave the



streams that, flowing onwards, could have borne their greetings to the castle of Quebec; already they stand by the Wisconsin. "The guides returned," says the gentle Marquette, "leaving us alone, in this unknown land, in the hands of Providence." France and Christianity stood in the valley of the Mississippi. Embarking on the broad Wisconsin, the discoverers, as they sailed west, went solitarily down the stream, between alternate prairies and hill-sides, beholding neither man nor the wonted beasts of the forest: no sound broke the appalling silence, but the ripple of the canoe, and the lowing of the buffalo. In seven days, "they entered happily the Great River, with a joy that could not be expressed;" and the two birch-bark canoes, raising their happy sails under new skies and to unknown breezes, floated down the calm magnificence of the ocean stream, over the broad, clear sand-bars, the resort of innumerable waterfowl, — gliding past islets that swelled from the bosom of the stream, with their tufts of massive thickets, and between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa, all garlanded as they were with majestic forests, or checkered by island groves and the open vastness of the prairie.

About sixty leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin, the western bank of the Mississippi bore on its sands the trail of men; a little footpath was discerned leading into a beautiful prairie; and, leaving the canoes, Joliet and Marquette resolved alone to brave a meeting with the savages. After walking six miles, they beheld a village on the banks of a river, and two others on a slope, at a distance of a mile and a half from the first. The river was the Mou-in-gou-e-na, or Moingona, of which we have corrupted the name into Des Moines. Marquette and Joliet were the first white men who trod the soil of Iowa. Commending themselves to God, they uttered a loud cry. The Indians hear; four old men advance slowly to meet them, bearing the peace-pipe brilliant with many-colored plumes. "We are Illinois," said they, — that is, when translated,

“We are men;” and they offered the calumet. An aged chief received them at his cabin with upraised hands, exclaiming, “How beautiful is the sun, Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! Our whole village awaits thee; thou shalt enter in peace into all our dwellings.” And the pilgrims were followed by the devouring gaze of an astonished crowd.

At the great council, Marquette published to them the one true God, their Creator. He spoke, also, of the great captain of the French, the governor of Canada, who had chastised the Five Nations, and commanded peace; and he questioned them respecting the Mississippi, and the tribes that possessed its banks. For the messengers who announced the subjection of the Iroquois, a magnificent festival was prepared of hominy, and fish, and the choicest viands from the prairies.

After six days’ delay, and invitations to new visits, the chieftain of the tribe, with hundreds of warriors, attended the strangers to their canoes; and, selecting a peace-pipe embellished with the head and neck of brilliant birds, and all feathered over with plumage of various hues, they hung round Marquette, the mysterious arbiter of peace and war, the sacred calumet, a safeguard among the nations.

The little group proceeded onwards. “I did not fear death,” says Marquette; “I should have esteemed it the greatest happiness to have died for the glory of God.” They passed the perpendicular rocks, which wore the appearance of monsters; they heard at a distance the noise of the waters of the Missouri, known to them by its Algonquin name of Pekitanoni; and, when they came to the most beautiful confluence of rivers in the world, — where the swifter Missouri rushes like a conqueror into the calmer Mississippi, dragging it, as it were, hastily to the sea, — the good Marquette resolved in his heart, anticipating Lewis and Clarke, one day to ascend the mighty river to its source; to cross the ridge that divides the oceans, and, descending a westerly-flowing stream, to publish the gospel to all the people of this New World.

In a little less than forty leagues, the canoes floated past the Ohio, which was then, and long afterwards, called the Wabash. Its banks were tenanted by numerous villages of the peaceful Shawnees, who quailed under the incursions of the Iroquois.

The canes begin to appear so close and strong, that the buffalo could not break through them; the insects become intolerable; as a shelter against the suns of July, the sails are folded into an awning. The prairies vanish; forests of whitewood, admirable for vastness and height, crowd even to the skirts of the pebbly shore. It is also observed that, in the land of the Chickasas, the Indians have guns.

Near the latitude of thirty-three degrees, on the western bank of the Mississippi, stood the village of Mitchigamea, in a region that had not been visited by Europeans since the days of De Soto. "Now," thought Marquette, "we must, indeed, ask the aid of the Virgin." Armed with bows and arrows, with clubs, axes, and bucklers, amidst continual whoops, the natives, bent on war, embark in vast canoes made out of the trunks of hollow trees; but, at the sight of the mysterious peace-pipe held aloft, God touched the hearts of the old men, who checked the impetuosity of the young; and, throwing their bows and quivers into the canoes, as a token of peace, they prepared a hospitable welcome.

The next day, a long, wooden canoe, containing ten men, escorted the discoverers, for eight or ten leagues, to the village of Akansea, the limit of their voyage. They had left the region of the Algonquins, and, in the midst of the Dahcotas and Chickasas, could speak only by an interpreter. A half league above Akansea, they were met by two boats, in one of which stood the commander, holding in his hand the peace-pipe, and singing as he drew near. After offering the pipe, he gave bread of maize. The wealth of his tribe consisted in buffalo skins; their weapons were axes of steel — a proof of commerce with Europeans.

Thus had our travellers descended below the entrance

of the Arkansas, to the genial climes that have almost no winter but rains, beyond the bound of the Huron and Algonquin languages, to the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico, and to tribes of Indians that had obtained European arms by traffic with Spaniards or with Virginia.

So, having spoken of God and the mysteries of the Catholic faith, — having become certain that the Father of Rivers went not to the ocean east of Florida, nor yet to the Gulf of California, — on the seventeenth of July, Marquette and Joliet left Akansea, and ascended the Mississippi.

At the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, they entered the River Illinois, and discovered a country without its paragon for the fertility of its beautiful prairies, covered with buffaloes and stags, — for the loveliness of its rivulets, and the prodigal abundance of wild ducks and swans, of parrots and wild turkeys. The tribe of Illinois, that tenanted its banks, entreated Marquette to come and reside among them. One of their chiefs, with their young men, conducted the party, by way of Chicago, to Lake Michigan; and, before the end of September, all were safe in Green Bay.

Joliet returned to Quebec to announce the discovery, of which the fame, through Talon, quickened the ambition of Colbert; the unaspiring Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Miamis, who dwelt in the north of Illinois, round Chicago. Two years afterwards, sailing from Chicago to Mackinaw, on the eighteenth of May, 1675, he entered a little river in Michigan. Erecting an altar, he said mass after the rites of the Catholic church; then, begging the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for a half hour,

“in the darkling wood,
Amidst the cool and silence, he knelt down,
And offered to the Mightiest solemn thanks
And supplication.”

At the end of the half-hour, they went to seek him, and

he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth, the canoemen dug his grave in the sand. Ever after, the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake Michigan, would invoke his name. The people of the west will build his monument.

CHAPTER XLI.

COLONIZATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

AT the death of Marquette, there dwelt at the outlet of Lake Ontario Robert Cavalier de la Salle. Of a good family, he had renounced his inheritance by entering the seminary of the Jesuits. After profiting by the discipline of their schools, and obtaining their praise for purity and diligence, he had taken his discharge from the fraternity, and, with no companions but poverty and a boundless spirit of enterprise, about the year 1667, when the attention of all France was directed towards Canada, the young adventurer embarked for fame and fortune in New France. Established, at first, as a fur trader, at La Chine, and encouraged by Talon and Courcelles, he, in 1669, explored Lake Ontario, and ascended to Lake Erie; and when, in 1675, the French governor, some years after occupying the banks of the Sorel, began to fortify the outlet of Lake Ontario, La Salle, repairing to France, and aided by Frontenac, obtained the rank of nobility, and the grant of Fort Frontenac, now the village of Kingston, on condition of maintaining the fortress. The grant was, in fact, a concession of a large domain, and the exclusive traffic with the Five Nations.

In the portion of the wilderness of which the young man was proprietary, cultivated fields proved the fertility

of the soil; his herd of cattle multiplied; groups of Iroquois built their cabins in the environs; a few French settled under his shelter; Franciscans, now tolerated in Canada, renewed their missions under his auspices; the noble forests invited the construction of log cabins and vessels with decks; and no canoemen in Canada could shoot a rapid with such address as the pupils of La Salle. Fortune was within his grasp. But Joliet, as he descended from the upper lakes, had passed by the bastions of Fort Frontenac — had spread the news of the brilliant career of discoveries opened in the west. In the solitudes of Upper Canada, the secluded adventurer, reading the voyages of Columbus, and the history of the rambles of De Soto, and listening to the tales of the Iroquois on the course of the Ohio, framed plans of colonization in the south-west, and of commerce between Europe and the Mississippi.

Once more he repaired to France; and from the policy of Colbert, who instinctively listened to the vast schemes which his heroic sagacity had planned, and the special favor of Seignelay, Colbert's son, he obtained, with the monopoly of the traffic in buffalo skins, a commission for perfecting the discovery of the Great River. With Tonti, an Italian veteran, as his lieutenant, and a recruit of mechanics and mariners; with anchors, and sails, and cordage for rigging a ship, and stores of merchandise for traffic with the natives; with swelling hopes, and a boundless ambition, — La Salle, in the autumn of 1678, returned to Fort Frontenac. Before winter, "a wooden canoe" of ten tons, the first that ever sailed into Niagara River, bore a part of his company to the vicinity of the falls; at Niagara, a trading-house was established; in the mouth of Tonawanta Creek, the work of ship-building began; Tonti and the Franciscan Hennepin, venturing among the Senecas, established relations of amity, while La Salle himself, skilled in the Indian dialects, was now urging forward the ship-builders, now gathering furs at his magazine, now gazing at the mighty cataract, — fittest emblem of eternity, — now

sending forward a detachment into the country of the Illinois to prepare the way for his reception.

Under the auspices of La Salle, Europeans first pitched a tent at Niagara; it was he who, in 1679, amidst the salvo from his little artillery, and the chanting of the *Te Deum*, and the astonished gaze of the Senecas, first launched a wooden vessel, a bark of sixty tons, on the upper Niagara River, and, in the Griffin, freighted with the colony of fur traders for the valley of the Mississippi, on the seventh day of August, unfurled a sail to the breezes of Lake Erie. Indifferent to the malignity of those who envied his genius, or were injured by his special privileges, La Salle, first of mariners, sailed over Lake Erie, and between the verdant isles of the majestic Detroit; debated planting a colony on its banks; gave a name to Lake St. Clair, from the day on which he traversed its shallow waters; and, after escaping from storms on Lake Huron, and planting a trading-house at Mackinaw, he cast anchor in Green Bay. Here having despatched his brig to Niagara River, with the richest cargo of furs, he himself, with his company in scattered groups, repaired in bark canoes to the head of Lake Michigan; and at the mouth of the St. Joseph's, in that peninsula where Alloüez had already gathered a village of Miamis, awaiting the return of the Griffin, he constructed the trading-house, with palisades, known as the Fort of the Miamis. It marks his careful forethought, that he sounded the mouth of the St. Joseph's, and raised buoys to mark the channel. But of his vessel, on which his fortunes so much depended, no tidings came. Weary of delay, he resolved to penetrate Illinois; and, leaving ten men to guard the Fort of the Miamis, La Salle himself, with Hennepin and two other Franciscans, with Tonti and about thirty followers, ascended the St. Joseph's, and, by a short portage over bogs and swamps made dangerous by a snow-storm, entered the Kankakee. Descending its narrow stream, before the end of December, the little company had reached the site of an Indian village on the Illinois, probably not far from

Ottáwa, in La Salle county. The tribe was absent, passing the winter in the chase.

In January, 1680, on the banks of Lake Peoria, Indians appeared; — they were Illinois; and, desirous to obtain axes and fire-arms, they offered the calumet, and agreed to an alliance: if the Iroquois should renew their invasions, they would claim the French as allies. They heard with joy that colonies were to be established in their territory; they described the course of the Mississippi, and they were willing to guide the strangers to its mouth. The spirit and prudence of La Salle, who was the life of the enterprise, won the friendship of the natives. But clouds lowered over his path: the Griffin, it seemed certain, was wrecked, thus delaying his discoveries, as well as impairing his fortunes; his men began to despond: alone, of himself, he toiled to revive their courage; — there could be no safety but in union: “None,” he added, “shall stay after the spring, unless from choice.” But fear and discontent pervaded the company; and when La Salle planned and began to build a fort on the banks of the Illinois, four days’ journey, it is said, below Lake Peoria, thwarted by destiny, and almost despairing, he named the fort *Crevecœur*.

Yet here the immense power of his will appeared. Dependent on himself, fifteen hundred miles from the nearest French settlement, impoverished, pursued by enemies at Quebec, and in the wilderness surrounded by uncertain nations, he inspired his men with resolution to saw trees into plank and prepare a bark; he despatched Louis Hennepin to explore the Upper Mississippi; he questioned the Illinois and their southern captives on the course of the Mississippi; he formed conjectures respecting the Tennessee River; and then, as new recruits were needed, and sails and cordage for the bark, in the month of March, 1680, with a musket and a pouch of powder and shot, with a blanket for his protection, and skins of which to make moccasins, he, with three companions set off on foot for Fort Fron-

tenac, to trudge through thickets and forests, to wade through marshes and melting snows, having for his pathway the ridge of highlands which divide the basin of the Ohio from that of the lakes, — without drink, except water from the brooks, — without food, except supplies from the gun. Of his thoughts, on that long journey, no record exists.

During the absence of La Salle, Louis Hennepin, bearing the calumet, and accompanied by Du Gay (whom the narrative untruly ascribed to Tonti, calls Dacan) and Michel Ako, as oarsmen, followed the Illinois to its junction with the Mississippi, and, invoking the guidance of St. Anthony of Padua, ascended the mighty stream far beyond the mouth of the Wisconsin — as he falsely held forth, far enough to discover its source. The great falls in the river, which he describes with reasonable accuracy, were named from the chosen patron of the expedition. On a tree near the cataract, the Franciscan engraved the cross, and the arms of France; and, after a summer's rambles, diversified by a short captivity among the Sioux, he and his companions returned, by way of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, to the French mission at Green Bay.

In Illinois, Tonti was less fortunate. The quick perception of La Salle had selected, as the fit centre of his colony, Rock Fort, near a village of the Illinois — a cliff rising two hundred feet above the river that flows at its base, in the centre of a lovely country of verdant prairies, bordered by distant slopes, richly tufted with oak, and black walnut, and the noblest trees of the American forest. This rock Tonti was to fortify; and, during the attempt, men at Crevecœur deserted. Besides, the enemies of La Salle had instigated the Iroquois to hostility, and, in September, 1680, a large party of them, descending the river, threatened ruin to his enterprise. After a parley, Tonti and the few men that remained with him, excepting the aged Franciscan Gabriel de la Ribourde, fled to Lake Michigan, where they found shelter with the Potawatomes.

When, therefore, La Salle returned to Illinois, with large supplies of men, and stores for rigging a brigantine, he found the post in Illinois deserted. Hence came the delay of another year, which was occupied in visiting Green Bay, and conducting traffic there; in finding Tonti and his men, and perfecting a capacious barge. At last, in the early part of 1682, La Salle and his company descended the Mississippi to the sea. His sagacious eye discerned the magnificent resources of the country. As he floated down its flood; as he framed a cabin on the first Chickasa bluff; as he raised the cross by the Arkansas; as he planted the arms of France near the Gulf of Mexico, — he anticipated the future affluence of emigrants, and heard in the distance the footsteps of the advancing multitude that were coming to take possession of the valley. Meantime he claimed the territory for France, and gave it the name of Louisiana.

This was the period of the proudest successes and largest ambition of Louis XIV. “La Salle will return,” it was said, “to give to the court an ample account of the terrestrial paradise of America; — there the king will at once call into being a flourishing empire.” And, in fact, La Salle, remaining in the west till his exclusive privilege had expired, returned to Quebec, and, in November, 1683, embarked for France.

Colbert, whose genius had awakened a national spirit in behalf of French industry, and who yet had rested his system of commerce and manufactures on no firmer basis than that of monopoly, was no more; but Seignelay, his son, the minister for maritime affairs, listened confidingly to the expected messenger from the land which was regarded with pride as “the delight of the New World.”

In the early months of 1684, the preparations for colonizing Louisiana were perfected, and in July the fleet left Rochelle. Four vessels were destined for the Mississippi, bearing two hundred and eighty persons, to take possession of the valley. Of these, one

hundred were soldiers — an ill omen, for successful colonists always defend themselves: about thirty were volunteers, two of whom — young Cavalier, and the rash, passionate Moranget — were nephews to La Salle: of ecclesiastics, there were three Franciscans, and three of St. Sulpice, one of them being brother to La Salle: there were, moreover, mechanics of various skill; and the presence of young women proved the design of permanent colonization. But the mechanics were poor workmen, ill versed in their trades; the soldiers, though they had for their commander Joutel, a man of courage and truth, and afterwards the historian of the grand enterprise, were themselves spiritless vagabonds, without discipline and without experience; the volunteers were restless with indefinite expectations; and, worst of all, the naval commander, Beaujeu, was deficient in judgment, incapable of sympathy with the magnanimous heroism of La Salle, envious, self-willed, and foolishly proud.

Disasters lowered on the voyage at its commencement: a mast breaks; they return: the voyage begins anew amidst variances between La Salle and the naval commander. In every instance on the record, the judgment of La Salle was right.

At St. Domingo, La Salle, delayed and cruelly thwarted by Beaujeu, saw already the shadow of his coming misfortunes. On leaving the island, they were more at variance than ever. They doubled Cape Antonio; they discover land on the continent; aware of the easterly direction of the Gulf Stream, they sail slowly in the opposite course. On the tenth day of January, 1685, they must have been near the mouth of the Mississippi; but La Salle thought not, and the fleet sailed by. Presently, he perceived his error, and desired to return; but Beaujeu refused; and thus they sailed to the west, and still to the west, till they reached the Bay of Matagorda. Weary of differences with Beaujeu, — believing the streams that had their outlet in the bay might be either branches from the Mississippi,

or lead to its vicinity, La Salle resolved to disembark. While he was busy in providing for the safety of his men, his store-ship, on entering the harbor, was wrecked by the careless pilot. Others gazed listlessly ; La Salle, calming the terrible energy of his grief at the sudden ruin of his boundless hopes, borrowed boats from the fleet to save, at least, some present supplies. But with night came a gale of wind, and the vessel was dashed utterly in pieces. The stores, provided with the munificence that marked the plans of Louis XIV., lay scattered on the sea ; little could be saved. To aggravate despair, the savages came down to pilfer, and murdered two of the volunteers.

Terror pervaded the group of colonists : the evils of the wreck and the gale were charged to La Salle, — as if he ought to have deepened the channel and controlled the winds ; men deserted, and returned in the fleet. La Salle, who, by the powerful activity of his will, controlled the feeble and irritable persons that surrounded him, and even censured their inefficiency, their treachery, and their disobedience, with angry vehemence, was yet, in his struggle against adversity, magnanimously tranquil. The fleet sets sail, and there remain on the beach of Matagorda a desponding company of about two hundred and thirty, huddled together in a fort constructed of the fragments of their shipwrecked vessel, having no reliance but in the constancy and elastic genius of La Salle.

Ascending the small stream at the west of the bay, in the vain hope of finding the Mississippi, La Salle selected a site on the open ground for the establishment of a fortified post. The spot, which he named St. Louis, was a gentle slope, which showed, towards the west and south-west, the boundless expansion of the beautiful landscape, verdant with luxuriant grasses, and dotted with groves of forest-trees ; south and east was the Bay of Matagorda, skirted with prairies. The waters abounded with fish, and invited crowds of wild-fowl ; the fields were alive with deer, and bison, and wild turkeys, and

the dangerous rattlesnake, bright inhabitant of the meadows. There, under the suns of June, with timber felled in an inland grove, and dragged for a league over the prairie grass, the colonists prepared to build a shelter, La Salle being the architect, and himself marking the beams, and tenons, and mortises. With parts of the wreck, brought up in canoes, a second house was framed, and of each the roof was covered with buffalo skins.

This is the settlement which made Texas a part of Louisiana. In its sad condition, it had yet saved from the wreck a good supply of arms, and bars of iron for the forge. Even now, this colony possessed, from the bounty of Louis XIV., more than was contributed by all the English monarchs together for the twelve English colonies on the Atlantic. Its number still exceeded that of the colony of Smith in Virginia, or of those who embarked in the Mayflower. France took possession of Texas; her arms were carved on its stately forest-trees; and by no treaty, or public document, except the general cessions of Louisiana, did she ever after relinquish the right to the province as colonized under her banners, and made still more surely a part of her territory, because the colony found there its grave.

Excursions into the vicinity of the Fort St. Louis had discovered nothing but the luxuriant productiveness of the country. La Salle proposed to seek the Mississippi in canoes; and, after an absence of about four months, and the loss of twelve or thirteen men, he returned in rags, having failed to find "the fatal river," and yet renewing hope by his presence. In April, he plunged into the wilderness, with twenty companions, lured towards New Mexico by the brilliant fictions of the rich mines of Sainte Barbe, the El Dorado of Northern Mexico. There, among the Ceniz, he succeeded in obtaining five horses, and supplies of maize and beans: he found no mines, but a country unsurpassed for beauty of climate and exuberant fertility.

On his return, he heard of the wreck of the little bark which had remained with the colony: he heard it un-

moved. Heaven and man seemed his enemies; and, with the giant energy of an indomitable will, having lost his hopes of fortune, his hopes of fame, — with his colony diminished to about forty, among whom discontent had given birth to plans of crime, — with no Europeans nearer than the River Panuco, no French nearer than Illinois, — he resolved to travel on foot to his countrymen at the north, and return from Canada to renew his colony in Texas.

Leaving twenty men at Fort St. Louis, in January, 1687, La Salle, with sixteen men, departed for Canada. Lading their baggage on the wild horses from the Cenis, which found their pasture every where in the prairies; in shoes made of green buffalo hides; for want of other paths, following the track of the buffalo, and using skins as the only shelter against rain; winning favor with the savages by the confiding courage of their leader; — they ascended the streams towards the first ridge of highlands, walking through beautiful plains and groves, among deer and buffaloes, — now fording the clear rivulets, now building a bridge by felling a giant tree across a stream, — till they had passed the basin of the Colorado, and, in the upland country, had reached a branch of Trinity River. In the little company of wanderers, there were two men, Duhaut and L'Archevêque, who had embarked their capital in the enterprise. Of these, Duhaut had long shown a spirit of mutiny; the base malignity of disappointed avarice, maddened by suffering, and impatient of control, awakened the fiercest passions of ungovernable hatred. Inviting Moranget to take charge of the fruits of a buffalo hunt, they quarrelled with him, and murdered him. Wondering at the delay of his nephew's return, La Salle, on the twentieth of March, went to seek him. At the brink of the river, he observed eagles hovering as if over carrion; and he fired an alarm gun. Warned by the sound, Duhaut and L'Archevêque crossed the river; the former skulked in the prairie grass; of the latter, La Salle asked, "Where is my nephew?" At the moment of the answer, Duhaut fired; and, with-



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out uttering a word, La Salle fell dead. "You are down now, grand bashaw! you are down now!" shouted one of the conspirators, as they despoiled his remains, which were left on the prairie, naked and without burial, to be devoured by wild beasts. Such was the end of this daring adventurer. For force of will and vast conceptions; for various knowledge, and quick adaptation of his genius to untried circumstances; for a sublime magnanimity, that resigned itself to the will of Heaven, and yet triumphed over affliction by energy of purpose and unfaltering hope, — he had no superior among his countrymen. He had won the affection of the governor of Canada, the esteem of Colbert, the confidence of Seignelay, the favor of Louis XIV. After beginning the colonization of Upper Canada, he perfected the discovery of the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to its mouth; and he will be remembered through all time as the father of colonization in the great central valley of the west.

But avarice and passion were not calmed by the blood of La Salle. Duhaut and another of the conspirators, grasping at an unequal share in the spoils, were themselves murdered, while their reckless associates joined a band of savages. Joutel, with the brother and surviving nephew of La Salle, and others, in all but seven, obtained a guide for the Arkansas; and — fording rivulets, crossing ravines, by rafts or boats of buffalo hides making a ferry over rivers, not meeting the cheering custom of the calumet till they reached the country above the Red River, leaving an esteemed companion in a wilderness grave, on which the piety of an Indian matron heaped offerings of maize — at last, on the twenty-fourth of July, as the survivors came upon a branch of the Mississippi, they beheld on an island a large cross. Never did Christian gaze on that emblem with heartier joy. Near it stood a log hut, tenanted by two Frenchmen. Tonti had descended the river, and, full of grief at not finding La Salle, had established a post near the Arkansas.

CHAPTER XLII.

FRANCE CONTENDS FOR THE FISHERIES AND THE GREAT WEST.

SUCH were the events which gave to the French not only New France and Acadia, Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland, but a claim to a moiety of Maine, of Vermont, and to more than a moiety of New York, to the whole valley of the Mississippi, and to Texas even, as far as the Rio Bravo del Norte. Throughout that wide region, it sought to introduce its authority, under the severest forms of the colonial system. That system was enforced, with equal eagerness, by England upon the sea-coast. Could France, and England, and Spain, have amicably divided the American continent, — could they have been partners, and not rivals, in oppression, — hope could not have beamed upon the colonies.

But the aristocratic revolution of England was the signal for a war with France, growing out of "a root of enmity," which Marlborough described as "irreconcilable to the government and the religion" of Great Britain. Louis XIV. took up arms in defence of legitimacy; and England had the glorious office of asserting the right of a nation to reform its government. Yet, as the Spanish Netherlands, which constituted the barrier of Holland and Germany against France, could be saved from conquest by France only through the interposition of England and Holland, an alliance followed between the Protestant revolutionary republic and monarchy, on the one side, and the bigoted defender of the Roman Catholic church and legitimacy, on the other. Hence, in the war of King William, the frontiers of Carolina, bordering on the possessions of Spain, were safe against invasion: Spain and England were allies. William III. was not only the defender of the nationality of England, but of the territorial freedom of Europe.

In America, the strife was, on behalf of the respective mother countries, for the fisheries, and for territory at the north and west. If the issue had depended on the condition of the colonies, it could hardly have seemed doubtful. The French census for the North American continent, in 1688, showed but eleven thousand two hundred and forty-nine persons—scarcely a tenth part of the English population on its frontiers—about a twentieth part of English North America.

West of Montreal, the principal French posts, and those but inconsiderable ones, had been at Frontenac, at Mackinaw, and on the Illinois. At Niagara, there was a wavering purpose of maintaining a post, but no permanent occupation. The savages still held the keys of the great west; no intercourse existed but by means of the forest rangers, who penetrated the barren heaths round Hudson's Bay, the morasses of the north-west, the homes of the Sioux and Miamis, the recesses of every forest where there was an Indian with skins to sell. The attention of the court of France was directed to the fisheries; and Acadia had been represented by De Meules as the most important settlement of France. To protect it, the Jesuits Vincent and James Bigot collected a village of Abenakis on the Penobscot; and a flourishing town now marks the spot where the baron de St. Castin, a veteran officer of the regiment of Carignan, established a trading fort.

Thus France, bounding its territory next New England by the Kennebec, claimed the whole eastern coast, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Hudson's Bay; and, to assert and defend this boundless region, Acadia and its dependencies counted but nine hundred French inhabitants. The missionaries, swaying the mind of the Abenakis, were the sole source of hope.

On the declaration of war by France against England, in June, 1689, Count Frontenac, once more governor of Canada, was charged to recover Hudson's Bay, to protect Acadia, and, by a descent from Canada, to

assist a fleet in making conquest of New York. But, on reaching the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Frontenac learned the capture of Montreal.

On the twenty-fifth of August, 1689, the Iroquois, fifteen hundred in number, reached the Isle of Montreal, at La Chine, at break of day, and, finding all asleep, set fire to the houses, and engaged in one general massacre. In less than an hour, two hundred people met death under forms too horrible for description. Approaching the town of Montreal, they made an equal number of prisoners, and, after a severe skirmish, became masters of the fort, and of the whole island, of which they retained unmolested possession till the middle of October. In the moment of consternation, Denonville had ordered Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, to be evacuated and razed. From Three Rivers to Mackinaw, there remained not one French town, and hardly even a post.

In Hudson's Bay, a band of brothers—De Sainte Helene and D'Iberville—sustained the honor of French arms. They were Canadians, sons of Charles Lemoine, an early emigrant from Normandy, whose numerous offspring gave also to American history the name of Bienville.

In the east, blood was first shed at Coheco, where, thirteen years before, an unsuspecting party of three hundred and fifty Indians had been taken prisoners, and shipped for Boston, to be sold into foreign slavery. The memory of the treachery was indelible; and the Indian emissaries of Castin easily excited the tribe of Penacook to revenge. On the evening of the twenty-seventh of June, 1689, two squaws repaired to the house of Richard Waldron, and the octogenarian magistrate bade them lodge on the floor. At night, they rise, unbar the gates, and summon their companions, who at once enter every apartment. "What now? what now?" shouted the brave old man; and, seizing his sword, he defended himself till he fell, stunned by a blow from a hatchet. They then placed him in a chair on a table

in his own hall. "Judge Indians again!" — thus they mocked him; and, making cruel sport of their debts to him as a trader, they drew gashes across his breast, and each one cried, "Thus I cross out my account!" At last the mutilated man reeled from faintness, and died in the midst of tortures. The Indians, burning his house, and others that stood near it, having killed three-and-twenty, returned to the wilderness with twenty-nine captives.

August comes. The women and children, at the Penobscot village of Canibas, have confessed their sins to the Jesuit Thury, that so they may uplift purer hands, while their fathers and brothers proceed against the heretics; — in the little chapel, the missionary and his neophytes have established a perpetual rosary during the expedition, and even the hours of repast do not interrupt the edifying exercise. A hundred warriors, purified also by confession, in a fleet of bark canoes, steal out of the Penobscot, and paddle towards Pemaquid. Thomas Gyles and his sons are at work, in the sunny noontide, making hay: a volley whistles by them; — a short encounter ends in their defeat. "I ask no favor," says the wounded father, "but leave to pray with my children." Pale with the loss of blood, he commends his children to God, then bids them farewell for this world, yet in the hope of seeing them in a better. The Indians, restless at delay, use the hatchet, and, for burial, heap boughs over his body. After a defence of two days, the stockade at Pemaquid capitulates; and the warriors return to Penobscot to exult over their prisoners. Other inroads were made by the Penobscot and St. John Indians, so that the settlements east of Falmouth were deserted.

In September, commissioners from New England held a conference with the Mohawks at Albany, soliciting an alliance. "We have burned Montreal," said they; "we are allies of the English; we will keep the chain unbroken." But they refused to invade the Abenakis.

Had Frontenac never left New France, Montreal would probably have been safe. He now used every effort to win the Five Nations to neutrality or to friendship. To recover esteem in their eyes, — to secure to Durantaye, the commander at Mackinaw, the means of treating with the Hurons and the Ottawas, — it was resolved by Frontenac to make a triple descent into the English provinces.

From Montreal, a party of one hundred and ten, composed of French, and of the Christian Iroquois, who had been established in a village near Montreal, — having De Mantet and Sainte Helene as leaders, and D'Iberville, the hero of Hudson's Bay, as a volunteer, — for two-and-twenty days, waded through snows and morasses, through forests and across rivers, to Schenectady. On the night of the eighth of February, 1690, the village had given itself calmly to slumber: through open and unguarded gates, the invaders entered silently, and having, just before midnight, reached its heart, the war-whoop was raised, (dreadful sound to the mothers of that place and their children!) and the dwellings set on fire. Of the inhabitants, some, half clad, fled through the snows to Albany; sixty were massacred, of whom seventeen were children, and ten were Africans. For such ends had the hardships of a winter's expedition, frost, famine, and frequent deaths, been encountered: such was war.

In March, a party from Three Rivers, led by Hertel, and consisting of but fifty-two persons, of whom three were his sons, and two his nephews, surprised the settlement at Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, and, after a bloody engagement, burned houses, barns, and cattle in the stalls, and took fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children.

Returning from this expedition, Hertel met a war party, under Portneuf, from Quebec, and, with them and a reënforcement from Castin, made a successful attack on the fort and settlement in Casco Bay.

Meantime danger taught the colonies the necessity

of union, and, on the first day of May, 1690, New York beheld the momentous example of an American "congress." The idea originated with the government of Massachusetts, established by the people in the period that intervened between the overthrow of Andros and the arrival of the second charter; and the place of meeting was New York, where, likewise, the government had sprung directly from the action of the people. Thus, without exciting suspicion, were the forms of independence and union prepared. The invitations were given by letters from the general court of Massachusetts, and extended to all the colonies as far, at least, as Maryland. Massachusetts, the parent of so many states, is certainly the parent of the American Union. At that congress, it was resolved to attempt the conquest of Acadia and Canada.

Acadia was soon conquered: before the end of May, Sir William Phipps, failing to bring seasonable supplies to Falmouth, sailed to Port Royal, which readily surrendered. New England was mistress of the coast to the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia, though the native hordes of that wilderness still retained their affection for the French.

While the people of New England and New York were concerting the grand enterprise of the conquest of Canada, the French had, by their successes, inspired the savages with respect, and renewed their intercourse with the west. But, in August, Montreal became alarmed. An Indian announced that Iroquois and English were busy in constructing canoes on Lake George; and immediately Frontenac himself placed the hatchet in the hands of his allies, and, with the tomahawk in his own grasp, old as he was, chanted the war-song, and danced the war-dance. On the twenty-ninth of August, it was said that an army had reached Lake Champlain; but, on the second of September, the spies could observe no trail. The projected attack by land was defeated by divisions,—Leisler charging Winthrop, of

Connecticut, with treachery, and the forces from Connecticut blaming Milborne, the commissary of New York, for the insufficiency of the supplies.

But, just as Frontenac, in the full pride of security, was preparing to return to Quebec, he heard that an Abenaki, hurrying through the woods in twelve days from Piscataqua, had announced the approach of a hostile fleet from Boston. The little colony of Massachusetts had sent forth a fleet of thirty-four sail, under the command of the incompetent Phipps, manned by two thousand of its citizens, who, as they now, without pilots, sounded their way up the St. Lawrence, anxious for the result of the expedition against Montreal, watched wistfully the course of the winds, and hoped in the efficacy of the prayers that went up, evening and morning, from every hearth in New England.

Had the excursion from Albany by land succeeded, — had pilots, or fair winds, or decision in the commander, conducted the fleet more rapidly but by three days, — the castle of St. Louis would have been surprised and taken. But, in the night of the fourteenth of October, Frontenac reached Quebec. The inhabitants of the vicinity were assembled: and the fortifications of the city had already been put in a tenable condition, when, on the sixteenth, at daybreak, the fleet from Boston came in sight, and soon cast anchor near Beauport, in the stream. It was too late. The herald from the ship of the admiral, demanding a surrender of the place, was dismissed with scoffs. What availed the courage of the citizen soldiers who effected a landing at Beauport? Before them was a fortified town, defended by a garrison far more numerous than the assailants, and protected by marshes and a river fordable only at low tide. The diversion against Montreal had utterly failed: the New England men reëmbark, and sail for Boston. In Quebec there were great rejoicings. For the church in the lower town, the yearly festival of Our Lady of Victory was established; and in France a

medal commemorated the successes of Louis XIV. in the New World. Sir William Phipps reached home in November. The treasury was empty. "Considering the present poverty of the country, and, through scarcity of money, the want of an adequate measure of commerce," issues of bills of credit were authorized, in notes from five shillings to five pounds, to "be in value equal to money, and accepted in all public payments."

Repulsed from Canada, the exhausted colonies attempted little more than the defence of their frontiers. Their borders were full of terror and sorrow, of captivity and death; but no designs of conquest were formed. If Schuyler, in 1691, made an irruption into the French settlements on the Sorel, it was only to gain successes in a skirmish, and to effect a safe retreat. A French ship anchoring in Port Royal, the red cross that floated over the town made way for the banner of France; and Acadia was once more a dependence on Canada. In January, 1692, a party of French and Indians, coming in snow-shoes from the east, burst upon the town of York, offering its inhabitants no choice but captivity or death. The fort which was rebuilt at Pemaquid was, at least, an assertion of English supremacy over the neighboring region. In England, the conquest of Canada was resolved on; but the fleet designed for the expedition, after a repulse at Martinique, sailed for Boston, freighted with the yellow fever, which destroyed two thirds of the mariners and soldiers on board. For a season, hostilities in Maine were suspended by a treaty of peace with the Abenakis; but, in less than a year, solely through the influence of the Jesuits, they were again in the field, led by Villieu, the French commander on the Penobscot; and the village at Oyster River, in New Hampshire, was the victim of their fury. Ninety-four persons were killed and carried away. The young wife of Thomas Drew was taken to the tribe at Norridgewock: there, in midwinter, in the open air, during a storm of snow, she gave birth to her first born, doomed by the savages to instant death. In Canada, the

chiefs of the Micmacs presented to Frontenac the scalps of English killed on the Piscataqua.

Once, indeed, in March, 1697, a mother achieved a startling revenge. Seven days after her confinement, the Indian prowlers raised their shouts near the house of Hannah Dustin, of Haverhill: her husband rode home from the field, but too late to provide for her rescue. He must fly, if he would save even one of his seven children, who had hurried before him into the forest. But, from the cowering flock, how could a father make a choice? With gun in his hand, he now repels the assault, now cheers on the innocent group of little ones, as they rustle through the dry leaves and bushes, till all reach a shelter. The Indians burned his home, and dashed his infant against a tree; and, after days of weary marches, Hannah Dustin and her nurse, with a boy from Worcester, find themselves on an island in the Merrimac, just above Concord, in a wigwam occupied by two Indian families. The mother planned escape. "Where would you strike," said the boy, Samuel Leonardson, to his master, "to kill instantly?" and the Indian told him where, and how to scalp. At night, while the household slumbers, the captives, two women and a boy, each with a tomahawk, strike vigorously, and fleetly, and with wise division of labor, — and, of the twelve sleepers, ten lie dead; of one squaw the wound was not mortal; one child was spared from design. The love of glory next asserted its power; and the gun and tomahawk of the murderer of her infant, and a bag heaped full with scalps, were choicely kept as the trophies of the heroine. — The streams are the guides which God has set for the stranger in the wilderness: in a bark canoe, the three descended the Merrimac to the English settlements, astonishing their friends by their escape, and filling the land with wonder at their successful daring.

Such scenes had no influence on the question of boundaries between Canada and New England. In the late summer of 1696, the fort of Pemaquid was taken by D'Iberville and Castin. Thus the frontier of French do-

minion was extended into the heart of Maine; and Acadia was yet, for a season, secured to the countrymen of De Monts and Champlain.

In the west, after the hope of conquering Canada was abandoned, Frontenac had little strife but with the Five Nations, whom he alternately, by missions and treaties, endeavored to win, and, by invasions, to terrify into an alliance. In February, 1692, three hundred French, with Indian confederates, were sent over the snows against the hunting parties of the Senecas in Upper Canada, near the Niagara. In the following year, a larger party invaded the country of the Mohawks, bent on their extermination. The first castle, and the second also, fell easily, — for the war-chiefs were absent; at the third, a party of forty, who were dancing a war-dance, gave battle, — and victory cost the invaders thirty men. But Schuyler, of Albany, collecting two hundred men, and pursuing the party as it retired, succeeded in liberating many of the captives.

Nor did the Five Nations continue their control over western commerce. After many vacillations, the prudence of the memorable La Motte Cadillac, who had been appointed governor at Mackinaw, confirmed the friendship of the neighboring tribes; but the Indians of the west would not rally under the banner of Onondio; and, in 1696, the French of Canada, aided only by their immediate allies, made their last invasion of Western New York. Frontenac, then seventy-four years of age, himself conducted the army: from Fort Frontenac they passed over to Oswego, and occupied both sides of that river; at night, they reached the falls three leagues above its mouth, and, by the light of bark torches, they dragged the canoes and boats above the portage. As they advanced, they found the savage defiance, in two bundles of reeds, suspended on a tree — a sign that fourteen hundred and thirty-four warriors (such was the number of reeds) defied them. As they approached the great village of the Onondagas, that nation set fire to it, and, by night, the invaders beheld the glare of the burning wigwams.

Early in August, the army encamped near the Salt Springs, while a party was sent to ravage the country of the Oneidas, with orders to cut up their corn, burn their villages, put to death all who should offer resistance, and take six chiefs as hostages. Meantime an aged Onondaga captive, who had refused to fly, was abandoned to the fury of the allies of the French; and never did the marvellous fortitude of an Indian brave display more fully its character of passive grandeur. All the tortures that more than four hundred savages could inflict on the decrepit old man, extorted from him not one word of weakness: he scoffed always at his tormentors as the slaves of those whom he despised. On receiving mortal wounds, his last words were, "You should have taken more time to learn how to meet death manfully! I die contented; for I have no cause for self-reproach." Such scenes were enacted at Salina.

After these successes against the Onondagas and Oneidas, it was proposed to go against the Cayugas; but Frontenac refused, as if uncertain of the result: "It was time for him to repose;" and the army returned to Montreal. He had humbled, but not subdued, the Five Nations, and left them to suffer from a famine, yet to recover their lands and their spirit, — having pushed hostilities so far that no negotiations for peace could easily succeed.

The last year of the war was one of especial alarm, as rumor divulged the purpose of the French king to send out a powerful fleet to devastate the coast of New England, and to conquer New York. But nothing came of it; and the peace of Ryswick occasioned, at least, a suspension of hostilities, though not till the English exchequer had been recruited by means of a great change in financial policy. In 1694, England accepted from individuals a loan of one and a half million pounds sterling, paying for it eight per cent. per annum, and constituting the subscribers to the loan an incorporated bank of circulation. This was the origin of the Bank of England.

CHAPTER XLIII.

COLONIZATION OF MICHIGAN, ILLINOIS, MISSISSIPPI,
LOUISIANA, ALABAMA.

THE peace of Ryswick, ratified in September, 1697, was itself a victory of the spirit of reform; for Louis XIV., with James II. at his court, recognized the revolutionary sovereign of England; and the encroachments of France on the German empire were restrained. In America, France retained all Hudson's Bay, and all the places of which she was in possession at the beginning of the war; in other words, with the exception of the eastern moiety of Newfoundland, France retained the whole coast and adjacent islands, from Maine to beyond Labrador and Hudson's Bay, besides Canada and the valley of the Mississippi. But the boundary lines were reserved as subjects for wrangling among commissioners.

On the east, England claimed to the St. Croix, and France to the Kennebec; and, had peace continued, the St. George would have been adopted as a compromise.

The boundary between New France and New York was still more difficult to be adjusted. The Iroquois were proud of their independence; France asserted its right to dominion over their lands; England claimed to be in possession. Religious sympathies inclined the nations to the French, but commercial advantages brought them always into connection with the English.

After many collisions and acts of hostility between the Iroquois and the allies of the French, especially the Ottawas; after many ineffectual attempts, on the part of Lord Bellamont, to constitute himself the arbiter of peace, and thus to obtain an acknowledged ascendancy, — the four upper nations, in the summer of 1700, sent envoys to Montreal "to weep for the French who had died in the war." After rapid negotiations, peace was ratified between the Iroquois, on the one side, and France and

her Indian allies, on the other. The Rat, chief of the Hurons from Mackinaw, said, "I lay down the axe at my father's feet;" and the deputies of the four tribes of Ottawas echoed his words. The envoy of the Abenakis said, "I have no hatchet but that of my father, and, since my father has buried it, now I have none;" the Christian Iroquois, allies of France, assented. A written treaty was made, to which each nation placed for itself a symbol;—the Senecas and Onondagas drew a spider; the Cayugas a calumet; the Oneidas a forked stick; the Mohawks a bear; the Hurons a beaver; the Abenakis a deer; and the Ottawas a hare. It was declared, also, that war should cease between the French allies and the Sioux; that peace should reach beyond the Mississippi. As to limits in Western New York, Callieres, becoming governor-general, still proposed to the French minister to assert French jurisdiction over the land of the Iroquois, or, at least, to establish its neutrality.

The question remained undecided, and, through the Five Nations, England shared in the Indian trade of the west; but France kept the mastery of the great lakes, and De Callieres resolved on founding an establishment at Detroit. The Five Nations, by their deputies, remonstrated, but in vain; and, in the month of June, 1701, De la Motte Cadillac, with a Jesuit missionary and one hundred Frenchmen, was sent to take possession of Detroit. This is the oldest permanent settlement in Michigan. That commonwealth began to be colonized before even Georgia: it is the oldest, therefore, of all the inland states, except, perhaps, Illinois. The country on the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair was esteemed the loveliest in Canada: Nature had lavished on it all her charms—slopes and prairies, plains and noble forests, fountains and rivers; the lands, though of different degrees of fertility, were all productive: the isles seemed as if scattered by art to delight the eye: the lake and the river abounded in fish; the water was pure as crystal, the air serene; the genial climate, temperate and giving health,

charmed the emigrant from Lower Canada. Two numerous Indian villages gathered near the fort: here were, at last, the wigwams of the Hurons, who, from their old country, had fled first to the Falls of St. Mary, and then to Mackinaw; and above, on the right, in Upper Canada, rose a settlement of the Ottawas, their inseparable companions.

The military occupation of Illinois seems to have continued, without interruption, from 1681, when La Salle returned from Fort Frontenac. Joutel found a garrison at Fort St. Louis in 1687; in 1689, La Hontan bears testimony that it still continued; in 1696, a public document proves its existence, and the wish of Louis XIV. to preserve it in good condition; and when, in 1700, Tonti again descended the Mississippi, he was attended by twenty Canadian residents in Illinois.

The oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Mississippi, is the village of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, or Kaskaskia, the seat of a Jesuit mission, which gradually became a central point of French colonization. We know that Father Gravier was its founder, but it is not easy to fix the date of its origin. Marquette had been followed by Alloëz, who, in 1684, may have been at Rock Fort, but who was chiefly a missionary to the Miamis, among whom he died. Gravier followed Alloëz, but in what year is unknown. Sebastian Rasles, after a short residence among the Abenakis, received orders to visit the west; and, from his own narrative, it is plain that, after passing a winter at Mackinaw, he, in the spring of 1693, repaired to Illinois, where he remained two years before exchanging its prairies for the borders of the Kennebec. He was sent, perhaps, as a companion to Gravier, who is famed as having been the first to ascertain the principles of the Illinois language, and to reduce them to rules, and as having, in the midst of perpetual perils and opposition from sorcerers, succeeded in beginning the establishment which was destined to endure.

When the founder of Kaskaskia was recalled to Mackinaw, he was relieved by two missionaries — by Pinet, who became the founder of Cahokia, preaching with such success, that his chapel could not contain the multitude that thronged to him; and Binnetau, who left his mission among the Abenakis to die on the upland plains of the Mississippi. Having followed the tribe to which he was attached, in their July ramble over their widest hunting-grounds, — now stifled amongst the tall grasses, now panting with thirst on the dry prairies, — all day tortured with heat, all night exposed on the ground to chilling dews, — he was seized with a mortal fever, and left his bones on the wilderness range of the buffaloes.

Before his death, and before Tonti left Illinois, Gabriel Marest, the Jesuit, — who, after chanting an ave to the cross among the icebergs of Hudson's Bay, had been taken by the English, and, on his liberation at the peace, had returned, by way of France, to America, — joined the mission at Kaskaskia, and, for a season, after the death of Binnetau and Pinet, had the sole charge of it. Very early in the eighteenth century, he was joined by Mermet. It was Mermet who assisted the commandant Jucherau, from Canada, in collecting a village of Indians and Canadians, and thus founding the first French post on the Ohio, or, as the lower part of that river was then called, the Wabash. But a contagious disease invaded the mixed population, and the dreadful mortality broke up the settlement.

About the same time, Gravier returned to Illinois, to plant a mission near Rock Fort, which had been abandoned by Tonti. Here he was unsuccessful, falling a victim to the assaults of the natives; but, on the banks of the Mississippi, the settlements slowly increased. The more hardy services of the mission fell to the lot of Marest. "Our life," he writes, "is passed in roaming through thick woods, in clambering over hills, in paddling the canoe across lakes and rivers, to catch

a poor savage who flies from us, and whom we can tame neither by teachings nor by caresses."

In 1711, on Good Friday, Marest started for the Peorias, who desired a new mission. In two days he reached Cahokia. "I departed," he writes again, "having nothing about me but my crucifix and my breviary, being accompanied by only three savages, who might abandon me from levity, or from fear of enemies might fly. The horror of these vast, uninhabited forest regions, where in twelve days not a soul was met, almost took away all courage. Here was a journey where there was no village, no bridge, no ferry, no boat, no house, no beaten path, and over boundless prairies, intersected by rivulets and rivers, — through forests and thickets filled with briars and thorns, — through marshes, where we plunged sometimes to the girdle. At night, repose was sought on the grass, or on leaves, exposed to wind and rain, — happy if by the side of some rivulet, of which a draught might quench thirst. A meal was prepared from such game as was killed on the way, or by roasting ears of corn."

The gentle virtues and fervid eloquence of Mermet made him the soul of the mission at Kaskaskia. At early dawn, his pupils came to church, dressed neatly and modestly, each in a large deer skin, or in a robe stitched together from several skins. After receiving lessons, they chanted canticles; mass was then said in presence of all the Christians in the place, the French and the converts, — the women on one side, the men on the other. From prayer and instruction, the missionaries proceeded to visit the sick and administer medicine; and their skill as physicians did more than all the rest to win confidence. In the afternoon, the catechism was taught, in presence of the young and the old, where every one, without distinction of rank or age, answered the questions of the missionary. At evening, all would assemble at the chapel for instruction, for prayer, and to chant the hymns of the church. On Sundays and festivals, even after vespers, a homily

was pronounced ; at the close of the day, parties would meet in the cabins to recite the chaplet, in alternate choirs, and sing psalms into the night. Their psalms were often homilies, with the words set to familiar tunes. Saturday and Sunday were the days appointed for confession and communion, and every convert confessed once in a fortnight. The success of the mission was such, that marriages of the French emigrants were sometimes solemnized with the daughters of the Illinois according to the rites of the Catholic church. The occupation of the territory was a cantonment of Europeans among the native proprietors of the forests and prairies.

Jesuits and fur traders were the founders of Illinois; Louis XIV. and privileged companies were the patrons of Southern Louisiana; but the honor of beginning the work of colonization in the south-west of our republic belongs to the illustrious Canadian, Lemoine D'Iberville. Present, as a volunteer, in the midnight attack upon Schenectady, where he was chiefly remembered for an act of clemency; the captor of Pemaquid; the successful invader of the English possessions on Newfoundland; in spite of icebergs and a shipwreck, victorious in naval contests on the gloomy waters of Hudson's Bay, and recognized as the most skilful naval officer in the service of France; — he, the idol of his Canadian countrymen, ever buoyant and brave, after the peace of Ryswick, sought and obtained a commission for establishing direct maritime intercourse between France and the Mississippi.

On the seventeenth day of October, 1698, two frigates and two smaller vessels, with a company of marines, and about two hundred settlers, including a few women and children, — most of the men being disbanded Canadian soldiers, — embarked for the Mississippi, which, as yet, had never been entered from the sea. Happier than La Salle, the leader of the enterprise won confidence and affection every where: the governor of St. Domingo gave him a welcome, and

bore a willing testimony to his genius and his good judgment. A larger ship-of-war from that station joined the expedition, which, in January, 1699, caught a glimpse of the continent, and anchored before the Island St. Rose. On the opposite shore, the fort of Pensacola had just been established by three hundred Spaniards from Vera Cruz. This prior occupation is the reason why, afterwards, Pensacola remained a part of Florida, and the dividing line between that province and Louisiana was drawn between the Bays of Pensacola and Mobile. Obedient to his orders, and to the maxims of the mercantile system, the governor of Pensacola would allow no foreign vessel to enter the harbor. Sailing to the west, D'Iberville cast anchor south-south-east of the eastern point of Mobile, and, in February, landed on Massacre, or, as it was rather called, Dauphine, Island. The water between Ship and Horn Islands being found too shallow, the larger ship from the station of St. Domingo returned, and the frigates anchored near the groups of the Chandeleur, while D'Iberville with his people erected huts on Ship Island, and made the discovery of the River Pascagoula and the tribes of Biloxi. The next day, a party of Bayagoulas, from the Mississippi, passed by: they were warriors returning from an incursion into the land of the Indians of Mobile.

In two barges, D'Iberville and his brother Bienville, with a Franciscan, who had been a companion to La Salle, and with forty-eight men, set forth to seek the Mississippi. Floating trees, and the turbid aspect of the waters, guided to its mouth. On the second day in March, they entered the mighty river, and ascended to the village of the Bayagoulas—a tribe which then dwelt on its western bank, just below the River Iberville, worshipping, it was said, an opossum for their manitou, and preserving in their temple an undying fire. There they found a letter from Tonti to La Salle, written in 1684, and safely preserved by the wondering natives. The Oumas also were visited; and the party

probably saw the great bend at the mouth of the Red River. A parish and a bayou, that bear the name of Iberville, mark the route of his return, through the lakes which he named Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the bay which he called St. Louis. Early in May, at the head of the Bay of Biloxi, on a sandy shore, under a burning sun, he erected the fort which, with its four bastions and twelve cannon, was to be the sign of French jurisdiction over the territory from near the Rio del Norte to the confines of Pensacola. While D'Iberville himself sailed for France, his two brothers, Sauvolle and Bienville, were left in command of the station, round which the few colonists were planted. Thus began the commonwealth of Mississippi. Prosperity was impossible; hope could not extend beyond a compromise with the Spaniards on its flank, and the Indian tribes around,—with the sands, which it was vain to till, and the burning sun, that may have made the emigrants sigh for the cool breezes of Hudson's Bay. Yet there were gleams of light: the white men from Carolina, allies of the Chickasas, invaded the neighboring tribes of Indians, making it easy for the French to establish alliances. Missionaries, also, had already conciliated the good will of remoter nations; and from the Taensas and the Yazoops, Davion—whose name belonged of old to the rock now called Fort Adams—and Montigny floated down the Mississippi to visit their countrymen. Already a line of communication existed between Quebec and the Gulf of Mexico. The boundless southern region—made a part of the French empire by lilies carved on forest-trees, or crosses erected on bluffs, and occupied by French missionaries and forest rangers—was annexed to the command of the governor of Biloxi.

During the absence of D'Iberville, it became apparent that England was jealous of his enterprise. Already Hennepin had been taken into the pay of William III., and, in 1698, had published his new work, in which, to bar the French claim of discovery, he had, with impudent

falsehood, claimed to have himself first descended the Mississippi, and had interpolated into his former narrative a journal of his pretended voyage down the river. This had been published in London while the fort at Biloxi was in progress; and, at once, an exploring expedition, under the auspices of Coxe, a proprietor of New Jersey, sought also for the mouths of the Mississippi. When Bienville, who passed the summer in exploring the forks below the site of New Orleans, in September, 1699, descended the river, he met an English ship of sixteen guns, commanded by Barr, — one of two vessels which had been sent to sound the passes of the majestic stream. Giving heed to the assertion of Bienville of French supremacy, as proved by French establishments, the English captain turned back; and the bend in the river which was the scene of the interview was named, and is still called, English Turn. England was never destined to acquire more than a nominal possession of the Mississippi.

It was at this time that Bienville received the memorial of French Protestants to be allowed, under French sovereignty, and in the enjoyment of freedom of conscience, to plant the banks of the Mississippi. "The king," answered Pontchartrain at Paris, "has not driven Protestants from France to make a republic of them in America;" and D'Iberville returned from Europe with projects far unlike the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. First came the occupation of the Mississippi, in January, 1700, by a fortress built on a point elevated above the marshes, not far from the sea, soon to be abandoned. In February, Tonti came down from the Illinois; and, under his guidance, the brothers D'Iberville and Bienville ascended the Great River, and made peace between the Oumas and the Bayagoulas. Among the Natchez, the Great Sun, followed by a large retinue of his people, welcomed the illustrious strangers. His country seemed best suited to a settlement; and a bluff, now known as Natchez, was selected for a town, and, in honor of the countess of Pontchartrain, was called Rosalie.

While D'Iberville descended to his ships, soon to

embark for France, his brother, in March, explored Western Louisiana, and, crossing the Red River, approached New Mexico. No tidings of exhaustless wealth were gleaned from the natives; no mines of unparalleled productiveness were discovered among the troublesome morasses; and St. Denys, with a motley group of Canadians and Indians, was sent to ramble for six months in the far west, that he might certainly find the land of gold. In April, Le Sueur led a company, in quest of mineral stores, to mountains in our north-western territory. Passing beyond the Wisconsin, beyond the Chipewewa, beyond the St. Croix, he sailed north till he reached the mouth of the St. Peter's, and did not pause till, entering that river, he came to the confluence of the Blue Earth. There, in a fort among Iowas, he passed the winter, that he might take possession of a copper mine, and, on the return of spring, fill his boats with heaps of ore.

Le Sueur had not yet returned to Biloxi, when, in May, 1701, news came from the impatient ministry of impoverished France, that certainly there were gold mines on the Missouri. But bilious fevers sent death among the dreamers about veins of precious metals and rocks of emerald. Sauvolle was an early victim, leaving the chief command to the youthful Bienville; and great havoc was made among the colonists, who were dependent on the Indians for baskets of corn, and were saved from famine by the chase and the net and line. The Choctas and the Mobile Indians desired an alliance against the Chickasas, and the French were too weak to act, except as mediators. In December, D'Iberville, arriving with reënforcements, found but one hundred and fifty alive.

Early in 1702, the chief fortress of the French was transferred from Biloxi to the western bank of the Mobile River, the first settlement of Europeans in Alabama; and, during the same season, though Dauphine Island was very flat, and covered with sands which sustained no grasses, and hardly nourished a grove of pines, its excellent harbor was occupied as a convenient

station for ships. Such was Louisiana in the days of its founder. Attacked by the yellow fever, D'Iberville escaped with his life, but his health was broken; and, though he gained strength to render service to France in 1706, the effort was followed by a severe illness, which terminated in his death at the Havana. In him the colonies and the French navy lost a hero worthy of their regret. But Louisiana, at his departure, in 1702, was little more than a wilderness claimed in behalf of the French king; in its whole borders, there were scarcely thirty families. The colonists were unwise in their objects, searching for pearls, for the wool of the buffalo, for productive mines. Their scanty number was scattered on discoveries, or among the Indians in quest of furs. There was no quiet agricultural industry. Of the lands that were occupied, the coast of Biloxi is as sandy as the deserts of Lybia; the soil on Dauphine Island is meagre: on the delta of the Mississippi, where a fort had been built, Bienville and his few soldiers were insulated and unhappy, at the mercy of the rise of waters in the river; and the buzz and sting of mosquitoes, the hissing of the snakes, the croakings of the frogs, the cries of alligators, seemed to claim that the country should still, for a generation, be the inheritance of reptiles, — while, at the fort of Mobile, the sighing of the pines, and the hopeless character of the barrens, warned the emigrants to seek homes farther within the land.

But, at least, the Spaniards at Pensacola were no longer hostile; Spain, as well as France, had fallen under the sovereignty of the Bourbons; and, after ineffectual treaties for a partition of the Spanish monarchy, all Europe was kindling into wars, to preserve the balance of power, or to refute the doctrine of legitimacy. This is the period when Spain became intimately involved in our destinies; and she long remained, like France, the enemy to our fathers as subjects of England — the friend to their independence.

CHAPTER XLIV.

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

THE dynasty of Spain had become extinct. If the doctrine of legitimacy was to be recognized as of divine origin, and therefore paramount to treaties, the king of France could claim for his own family the inheritance of the monarchy. That claim had been sanctioned by the testament of the last Spanish king, and was desired by the Spanish people, of whom the anger had been roused by attempts at partition. To the crown of Spain belonged the Low Countries, the Milanese, and the Two Sicilies, besides its world in the Indies; the union of so many states in the family of the Bourbons seemed to threaten the freedom of Europe, and to secure to France colonial supremacy. William III. resolved on war. Ever true to his ruling passion for the liberty of Holland against France; persevering in it in opposition to his ministry and parliament; in the last year of his life, suffering from a mortal disease; with swollen feet, voice extinguished; too infirm to receive visits; alone, separate from the world, at the castle of St. Loo; — he still rallied new alliances, governed the policy of Europe, and, as to territory, shaped the destinies of America. In September, 1701, during the negotiations, James II. died at St. Germain; and Louis roused the nationality of England by recognizing the son of the royal exile as the legitimate king of Great Britain. Thus the war for the balance of power, for colonial territory, and for commercial advantages, became also a war of opinion, in which England vindicated the independence of national power.

Louis XIV. was an old man, and the men of energy in his cabinet and his army were gone. There was no Colbert, to put order into the finances; no Louvois, by his savage resoluteness, to inspire terror: Luxemburgh was dead, and the wise Catinat no more a favorite.

Long wars had enfeebled agriculture, and had exhausted the population; and the excess of royal vanity insured defeat; for the monarch expected victory to obey his orders, and genius to start into action from his choice. Two years passed without reverses; but in 1704, the battle of Blenheim, fatal to the military reputation of France, revealed the exhaustion of the kingdom. The armies of Louis XIV. were opposed by troops collected from England, the Empire, Holland, Savoy, Portugal, Denmark, Prussia, and Lorraine, led on by Eugene and Marlborough, who, completing the triumvirate with the grand pensionary Heinsius, combined in their service money, numbers, forethought, and military genius.

In North America, the central colonies of our republic scarce knew the existence of war, except as they were invited to aid in defending the borders, or were sometimes alarmed at a privateer hovering off their coast. The Five Nations, at peace with both France and England, protected New York by a mutual compact of neutrality. South Carolina, bordering on Spanish Florida, — New England, which had so often conquered Acadia, and coveted the fisheries, — were alone involved in the direct evils of war.

South Carolina began colonial hostilities. In September, 1702, its governor, James Moore, by the desire of the commons, placed himself at the head of an expedition for the reduction of St. Augustine. The town was easily ravaged; but the garrison retreated to the castle, and the besiegers waited the arrival of heavy artillery. To obtain it, a sloop was sent to Jamaica; but an emissary had already announced the danger to Bienville, at Mobile, who conveyed the intelligence to the Spanish viceroy; and when two Spanish vessels of war appeared near the mouth of the harbor, Moore abandoned his ships and stores, and retreated by land. The colony, burdened with debt, pleaded the precedent "of great and rich countries," and issued bills of credit to the amount of six thousand pounds. To Carolina the first fruits of war were debt and paper money.

This ill success diminished the terror of the Indians.

The Spaniards had long occupied the country on the Bay of Appalache; had gathered the natives into towns, built for them churches, and instructed them by missions of Franciscan priests. The traders of Carolina beheld with alarm the continuous line of communication from St. Augustine to the incipient settlements in Louisiana; and, in the last weeks of 1705, a company of fifty volunteers, under the command of Moore, and assisted by a thousand savage allies, roamed through the woods by the trading path across the Ocmulgee, descended through the regions which none but De Soto had invaded, and came upon the Indian towns near the port of St. Mark's. The inhabitants spoke a dialect of the language of the Muskhooges. They had already learned the use of horses and of beeves, which multiplied without care in their groves. At sunrise, on the fourteenth of December, the bold adventurers reached the strong place of Ayavalla. Beaten back from the assault with loss, they succeeded in setting fire to the church, which adjoined the fort. A "barefoot friar," the only white man, came forward to beg mercy; more than a hundred women and children, and more than fifty warriors, were taken and kept as prisoners for the slave market. On the next morning, the Spanish commander on the bay, with twenty-three soldiers and four hundred Indians, gave battle, and was defeated; but the Spanish fort was too strong to be carried by storm. The tawny chief of Ivitachma "compounded for peace with the plate of his church and ten horses laden with provisions." Five other towns submitted without conditions. Most of their people abandoned their homes, and were received as free emigrants into the jurisdiction of Carolina. Thus was St. Augustine insulated by the victory over its allies. The Creeks, that dwelt between Appalache and Mobile, being friends to Carolina, interrupted the communication with the French. The English flag having been carried triumphantly through the wilderness to the Gulf of Mexico, the savages were overawed; and Great Britain established a new claim to the central forests that were soon to be named Georgia.

In the next year, a French squadron from the Havana attempted revenge by an invasion of Charleston; but the brave William Rhett, and the governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, inspired courage, and prepared defence. The Huguenots, also, panted for action. One of the French ships was taken; and, wherever a landing was effected, the enemy was attacked with such energy that, of eight hundred, three hundred were killed or taken prisoners. Unaided by the proprietaries, South Carolina gloriously defended her territory, and, with very little loss, repelled the invaders. The result of the war at the south was evidently an extension of the English boundary far into the territory that Spain had esteemed as a portion of Florida.

At the north, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, now governor of Canada, made haste to conciliate the Iroquois. The treaty of neutrality with the Senecas was commemorated by two strings of wampum: to prevent the rupture of this happy league, he resolved to send no war parties against the English on the side of New York.

The English were less successful in their plans of neutrality with the Abenakis. In June, 1703, a congress of chiefs, from the Merrimac to the Penobscot, met Governor Dudley at Casco. "The sun," said they, "is not more distant from the earth, than our thoughts from war;" and, giving the belt of wampum, they added new stones to the two piles which had been raised as memorials of friendship. Yet, within six weeks, the whole country from Casco to Wells was in a conflagration. On one and the same day, the several parties of the Indians, with the French, burst upon every garrison in that region.

Death hung on the frontier. The farmers, that had built their dwellings on the bank just above the beautiful meadows of Deerfield, had surrounded with pickets an enclosure of twenty acres—the village citadel. There were separate dwelling-houses, also fortified by a circle of sticks of timber set upright in the ground. Their occupants knew, through the Mohawks, that dan-

ger was at hand. There was not a night but the sentinel was abroad; not a mother lulled her infant to rest, but knew that, before morning, the tomahawk might crush its skull. The snow lay four feet deep, when the clear, invigorating air of mid-winter cheered the war party of about two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians, who, with the aid of snow-shoes, and led by Hertel de Rouville, had walked on the crust all the way from Canada. On the last night in February, 1704, a pine forest near Deerfield gave them shelter till after midnight. When, at the approach of morning, the unfaithful sentinels retired, the war party entered within the palisades, which drifts of snow had made useless; and the war-whoop of the savages bade each family prepare for captivity or death. The village was set on fire, and all but the church and one dwelling-house were consumed. Of the inhabitants, but few escaped: forty-seven were killed; one hundred and twelve, including the minister and his family, were made captives. One hour after sunrise, the party began its return to Canada. But who would know the horrors of that winter march through the wilderness? Two men starved to death. Did a young child weep from fatigue, or a feeble woman totter from anguish under the burden of her own offspring, the tomahawk stilled complaint, or the helpless infant was cast out upon the snow. Eunice Williams, the wife of the minister, had not forgotten her Bible; and, when they rested by the way-side, or, at night, made their couch of branches of evergreen strown on the snow, the savages allowed her to read it. Having but recently recovered from confinement, her strength soon failed. To her husband, who reminded her of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," "she justified God in what had happened." The mother's heart rose to her lips, as she commended her five captive children, under God, to their father's care; and then one blow from a tomahawk ended her sorrows. "She rests in peace," said her husband, "and joy unspeakable and

full of glory." In Canada, no entreaties, no offers of ransom, could rescue his youngest daughter, then a girl of but seven years old. Adopted into the village of the praying Indians near Montreal, she became a proselyte to the Catholic faith, and the wife of a Calnewaga chief; and when, after long years, she visited her friends at Deerfield, she appeared in an Indian dress; and, after a short sojourn, in spite of a day of fast of a whole village, which assembled to pray for her deliverance, she returned to the fires of her own wigwam, and to the love of her own Mohawk children.

I have no tale to tell of battles like those of Blenheim or of Ramillies, but only one sad narrative of rural dangers and sorrows. Children, as they gambled on the beach; reapers, as they gathered the harvest; mowers, as they rested from using the scythe; mothers, as they busied themselves about the household, — were victims to an enemy who disappeared the moment a blow was struck, and who was ever present where a garrison or a family ceased its vigilance.

In 1708, a party of French, under Des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, the destroyer of Deerfield, with Algonquin Indians as allies, passed through the White Mountains, — and, too feeble for an attack on Portsmouth, resolved to sack some frontier village.

Haverhill was, at that time, a cluster of thirty cottages and log-cabins, embosomed in the primeval forests, near the tranquil Merrimac. In the centre of the settlement stood a new meeting-house, the pride of the village. On the few acres of open land, the ripening Indian corn rose over the charred stumps of trees, and, on the north and west, bordered on the illimitable, unbroken wilderness, which stretched far away to the White Mountains, and beyond them, and, by its very depth, seemed a bulwark against invasion. On the night of the twenty-ninth of August, the evening prayers had been said in each family, and the whole village fearlessly resigned itself to sleep. That night, the band of invaders slept quietly in the near forest.

At daybreak, they assumed the order of battle; Rouville addressed the soldiers, who, after their orisons, marched against the fort, raised the shrill yell, and dispersed themselves through the village to their work of blood. The rifle rang; the cry of the dying rose. Benjamin Rolfe, the minister, was beaten to death; one Indian sunk a hatchet deep into the brain of his wife, while another caught his infant child from its dying mother, and dashed its head against a stone. Thomas Hartshorne and his two sons, attempting a rally, were shot; a third son was tomahawked. John Johnston was shot by the side of his wife: she fled into the garden, bearing an infant; was caught and murdered; but, as she fell, she concealed her child, which was found, after the massacre, clinging to her breast. Simon Wainwright was killed at the first fire. Mary, his wife, fearlessly unbarred the door; with cheerful mien, bade the savages enter, and procured for them what they wished: when they demanded money, she retired as if to bring it, and, gathering up all her children save one, succeeded in escaping.

All the attacks were made simultaneously. The English began to gather; the intrepid Davis sounded an alarm; and, as the destroyers retired, Samuel Ayer, ever to be remembered in village annals, with but a thirteenth part of their number, hung on their rear, — himself a victim, yet rescuing several from captivity.

Such were the sorrows of that generation. At daybreak, the villagers seemed secure: a little later in the morning, while the dew was hardly dry on the willows by the river side, the smoke rose from smouldering ruins, and the sward was red with the blood of their pastor and brave men, of women and mangled babes.

But enough of these heart-rending tales. Such fruitless cruelties inspired our fathers with a deep hatred of the French missionaries. They compelled the employment of a large part of the inhabitants as soldiers; so that there was one year, during this war, when even a

fifth part of all who were capable of bearing arms were in active service. They gave birth, also, to a willingness to exterminate the natives. The Indians vanished when their homes were invaded; they could not be reduced by usual methods of warfare: hence a bounty was offered for every Indian scalp: to regular forces under pay, the grant was ten pounds, — to volunteers in actual service, twice that sum; but if men would, of themselves, without pay, make up parties, and patrol the forests in search of Indians, as of old the woods were scoured for wild beasts, the chase was invigorated by the promised “encouragement of fifty pounds per scalp.”

Meantime, in 1704, a fleet from Boston harbor had defied Port Royal, and, three years afterwards, under the influence of Dudley, Massachusetts attempted its conquest. The failure of that costly expedition, which was thwarted by the activity of Castin, created discontent in the colony, by increasing its paper money and its debts. In 1709, a fleet and an army were to be sent from Europe. The colonies kindled at the prospect: to defray the expenses of preparation, Connecticut, and New York, and New Jersey, then first issued bills of credit; stores were collected; the troops levied from the hardy agriculturists. But no English fleet arrived; and the energies that had been roused were wasted in inactive expectation.

At last, in 1710, the final successful expedition against Acadia took place. Under the command of Nicholson, six English vessels, joined by thirty of New England, and four New England regiments, sailed in September from Boston. In six days, the fleet anchored before the fortress of Port Royal. The garrison of Subercase, the French governor, was weak and disheartened, and could not be rallied; murmurs and desertions multiplied; the terms of capitulation were easily concerted; the tattered and starved garrison, one hundred and fifty-six in number, marched out with the honors of war. In honor of the queen,

the place was called Annapolis, over which the English flag from that day floated.

Flushed with victory, Nicholson repaired to England, and succeeded in urging St. John, afterwards raised to the peerage as Viscount Bolingbroke, then secretary of state, a statesman of no soundness of judgment or power of combination, to plan the conquest of Canada. "As that whole design," wrote St. John, in June, 1711, "was formed by me, and the management of it singly carried on by me, I have a sort of paternal concern for the success of it."

The fleet, consisting of fifteen ships-of-war and forty transports, was placed under the command of Sir Hoven-den Walker; the seven veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, with a battalion of marines, were intrusted to Hill, Mrs. Masham's second brother, whom the queen had pensioned and made a brigadier-general. In the preparations, the public treasury was defrauded for the benefit of favorites. "Improve to-day, instead of depending on to-morrow;" — such was the secretary's admonition to his admiral. "The queen is very uneasy at the unaccountable loss of time in your stay at Portsmouth." Yet the fleet did sail at last; and when St. John heard of its safe arrival at Boston, he wrote exultingly to the duke of Orrery, "I believe you may depend on our being masters, at this time, of all North America."

From June twenty-fifth to the thirtieth day of July, the fleet lay at Boston, taking in supplies and the colonial forces. At the same time, an army of men from Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York, Palatine emigrants, and about six hundred Iroquois, assembling at Albany, prepared to burst upon Montreal.

The news of the intended expedition was seasonably received in Quebec; the fortifications were strengthened; Beauport was garrisoned; and the people were resolute and confiding — even women were ready to labor for the common defence.

Men watched impatiently the approach of the fleet. Towards the last of August, it was said that peasants at

Matanes had descried ninety or ninety-six vessels with the English flag. Yet September came, and still from the heights of Cape Diamond no eye caught one sail of the expected enemy.

The English squadron, leaving Boston on the thirtieth of July, after loitering near the Bay of Gaspé, at last began to ascend the St. Lawrence, while Sir Hovenden Walker puzzled himself with contriving how he should secure his vessels during the winter at Quebec. On the evening of the twenty-second of August, a thick fog came on, with an easterly breeze. The pilots, with one accord, advised that the fleet should lie to, with the heads of the vessels to the southward: this was done, and, even so, the vessels were carried towards the northern shore. Just as Walker was going to bed, the captain of his ship came down to say that land could be seen; and, without going on deck, the admiral wantonly ordered the ships to head to the north. There was on the quarter-deck a man of sense, — Goddard, a captain in the land service: he rushed to the cabin in great haste, and importuned the admiral at least to come on deck; but the self-willed man laughed at his fears, and refused. A second time Goddard returned. "For the Lord's sake, come on deck," cried he, "or we shall certainly be lost; I see breakers all around us!" — "Putting on my gown and slippers," writes Walker, "and coming upon deck, I found what he told me to be true." Even then the blind admiral shouted, "I see no land to the leeward!" but the moon, breaking through the mists, gave him the lie. The fleet was close upon the north shore, among the Egg Islands. Now the admiral believed the pilots, and made sail immediately for the middle of the river; but morning showed that eight ships had been wrecked, and eight hundred and eighty-four men drowned. A council of war voted unanimously that it was impossible to proceed. "Had we arrived safe at Quebec," wrote the admiral, "ten or twelve thousand men must have been left to perish of cold and hunger: by the loss of a part, Providence saved all the rest!" and he expect-

ed public honors for his successful retreat, which to him seemed as glorious as a victory.

Such was the issue of hostilities in the north-east. The failure of the attack on Quebec left Nicholson no option but to retreat, and Montreal also was unmolested. Detroit, although besieged, in 1712, by a party of the Ottagamies, or Foxes, was preserved to the French. Cherished as the loveliest spot in Canada, its possession secured the intercourse with the upper Indians and the great highway to the Mississippi.

In the mean time, the preliminaries of a treaty between France and England had been signed, and, in April, 1713, peace was concluded at Utrecht, on conditions of momentous character and consequences. The Netherlands were severed from Spain, and assigned to Austria, as the second land power on the continent. In the south, the house of Savoy, in the north, the house of Brandenburg, were raised to the rank of royalty; the kingdom of Naples was at first wholly severed from Spain, though afterwards it was constituted a secundogeniture. Spain, while she retained all her colonies, lost all her European provinces. Thus, in regard to territorial arrangements, the balance of power, as far as France and England were interested on the continent, was arranged in a manner that might have permitted between the two neighbors a perpetual peace.

The war between England and France had been not only a contest for the balance of power on the continent, but a conflict of opinions; and this, also, was amicably settled. France assented to the emancipation of England from the maxims of legitimacy, and England abandoned every question of freedom agitated. The liberty of the seas was quietly vindicated. "Free ships" — such was international law, as interpreted by England at Utrecht — "Free ships shall also give a freedom to goods." The name of contraband was narrowly defined, and the right of blockade severely limited. Sailors, in those days, needed no special protections; for it was covenanted that the flag should cover the persons that sailed under it.

And yet the treaty of peace at Utrecht scattered the seeds of war broadcast throughout the globe. The world had entered on the period of mercantile privilege. Instead of establishing equal justice, England sought commercial advantages. Guarding with the utmost strictness the monopoly of her own colonial trade, she encroached by treaty on the colonial monopoly of Spain. There shall be trade, it was said, between Great Britain and Spain, and their respective plantations and provinces, "where hitherto trade and commerce have been accustomed;" so that a prescriptive right might spring from the continued successes of British smugglers.

But the *assiento* itself was, for English America, the most weighty result of the negotiations at Utrecht. It was demanded by St. John, in 1711; and Louis XIV. promised his good offices to procure this advantage for the English. "Her Britannic majesty did offer and undertake,"—such are the words of that treaty,— "by persons whom she shall appoint, to bring into the West Indies of America belonging to his Catholic majesty, in the space of thirty years, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred in each of the said thirty years,"—paying, on four thousand of them, a duty of thirty-three and a third dollars a head. The *assientists* might introduce as many more as they pleased, at the less rate of duty of sixteen and two thirds dollars a head—only, no scandal was to be offered to the Roman Catholic religion! Exactest care was taken to secure a monopoly. For the Spanish world in the Gulf of Mexico, on the Atlantic, and along the Pacific, as well as for the English colonies, her Britannic majesty, by persons of her appointment, was the exclusive slave trader. England extorted the privilege of filling the New World with negroes. As great profits were anticipated from the trade, Philip V. of Spain took one quarter of the common stock, agreeing to pay for it by a stock-note; Queen Anne reserved to herself another quarter; and the remaining moiety was to be divided among her subjects. Thus did the sovereigns of Eng-

land and Spain become the largest slave merchants in the world. Lady Masham promised herself a share of the profits; but Harley, who had good sense, and was free from avarice, advised the assignment of her majesty's portion of the stock to the South Sea company.

Finally, England, by the peace of Utrecht, obtained from France supremacy in the American fisheries; the entire possession of the Bay of Hudson and its borders, of Newfoundland, and of all Nova Scotia or Acadia, according to its ancient boundaries. It was agreed, also, that "France should never molest the Five Nations subject to the dominion of Great Britain." — But how far did Louisiana extend? It included, according to French ideas, the whole basin of the Mississippi. Did the treaty of Utrecht assent to such an extension of French territory? And what were the ancient limits of Acadia? Did they include all that is now New Brunswick? or had France still a large territory on the Atlantic between Acadia and Maine? And what were the bounds of the territory of the Five Nations, which the treaty appeared to recognize as a part of the English dominions? These were questions which were never to be adjusted amicably.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE ABORIGINES EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

ON the surrender of Acadia to England, the lakes, the rivulets, the granite ledges, of Cape Breton, were immediately occupied as a province of France; and, in 1720, the fortifications of Louisburg began to rise — the key to the St. Lawrence, the bulwark of the French fisheries, and of French commerce in North America. From Cape Breton, the dominion of Louis XIV. extended up the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, and from

that lake, through the whole course of the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico and the Bay of Mobile. Just beyond that bay began the posts of the Spaniards, which continued round the shores of Florida to the fortress of St. Augustine. The English colonies skirted the Atlantic, extending from Florida to the eastern verge of Nova Scotia. The Europeans had established a wide circle of plantations, or of posts, and had encompassed the aborigines that dwelt east of the Mississippi. Their respective settlements were now kept asunder by an unexplored wilderness, of which savages were the occupants. The great strife of France and England for American territory could not, therefore, but involve the ancient possessors of the continent in a series of conflicts, which have, at last, banished the Indian tribes from the earlier limits of our republic. The picture of the unequal contest inspires a compassion that is honorable to humanity. The weak demand sympathy. If a melancholy interest attaches to the fall of a hero, who is overpowered by superior force, shall we not drop a tear at the fate of nations, whose defeat foreboded the exile, if it did not indeed shadow forth the decline and ultimate extinction, of a race?

The earliest books on America contained tales as wild as fancy could invent or credulity repeat. The land was peopled with pygmies and with giants; the tropical forests were said to conceal tribes of negroes; and tenants of the hyperborean regions were white, like the polar bear or the ermine. Jaques Cartier had heard of a nation that did not eat; and the pedant Lafitau believed, if not in a race of headless men, at least, that there was a nation of men with the head not rising above the shoulders.

Yet the first aspect of the original inhabitants of the United States was uniform. Between the Indians of Florida and Canada, the difference was scarcely perceptible. Their manners and institutions, as well as their organization, had a common physiognomy; and, before their languages began to be known, there was no

safe method of grouping the nations into families. But when the vast variety of dialects came to be compared, there were found east of the Mississippi not more than eight radically distinct languages, of which five still constitute the speech of powerful communities, and three are known only as memorials of tribes that have almost disappeared from the earth.

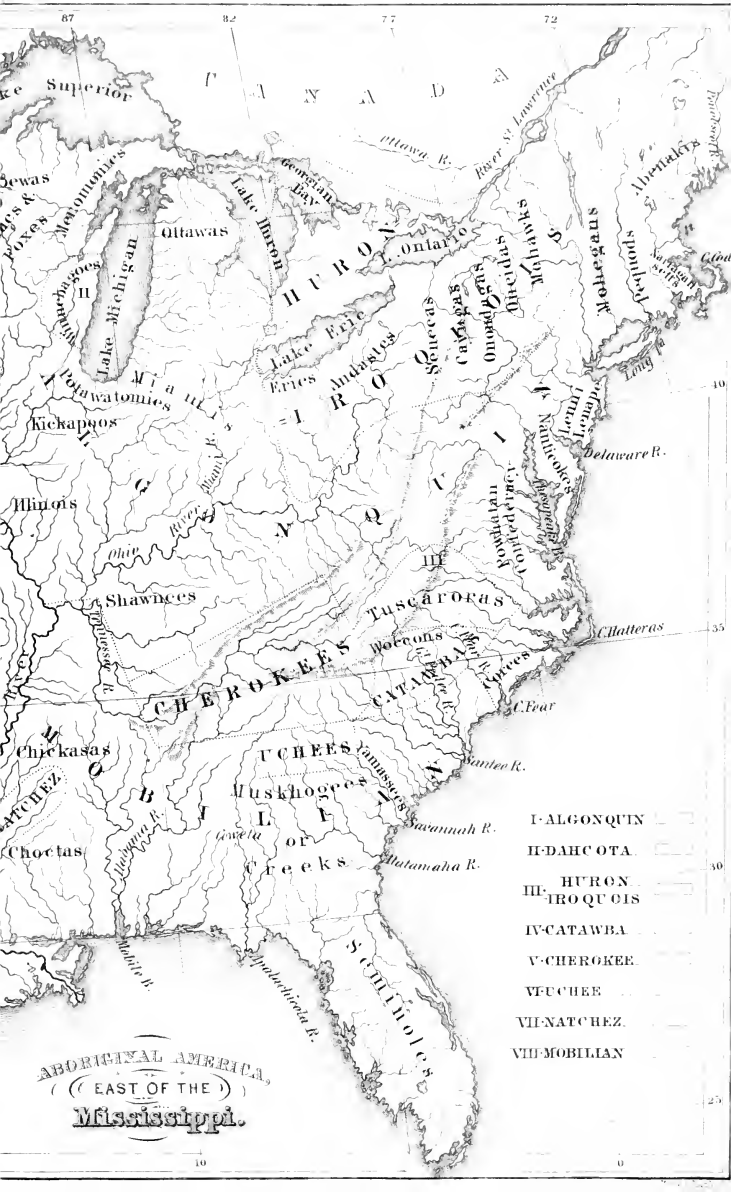
I. The primitive language which was the most widely diffused, and the most fertile in dialects, received from the French the name of ALGONQUIN. It was the mother tongue of those who greeted the colonists of Raleigh at Roanoke, of those who welcomed the Pilgrims to Plymouth. It was heard from the Bay of Gaspé to the valley of the Moingona; from Cape Fear, and, it may be, from the Savannah, to the land of the Esquimaux; from the Cumberland River of Kentucky to the southern bank of the Missinipi. It was spoken, though not exclusively, in a territory that extended through sixty degrees of longitude, and more than twenty degrees of latitude.

The Micmacs, who occupied the east of the continent, south of the little tribe that dwelt round the Bay of Gaspé, holding possession of Nova Scotia and the adjacent isles, and probably never much exceeding three thousand in number, were known to our fathers only as the active allies of the French. They often invaded, but never inhabited, New England.

The Etchemins, or Canoemen, dwelt not only on the St. John River, the Ouygondy of the natives, but on the St. Croix, which Champlain always called from their name, and extended as far west, at least, as Mount Desert.

Next to these came the Abenakis, of whom one tribe has left its name to the Penobscot, and another to the Androscoggin; while a third, under the auspices of Jesuits, had its chapel and its fixed abode in the fertile fields of Norridgewock.

Of the Sokokis, who appear to have dwelt near Saco, and to have had an alliance with the Mohawks, many,



ABORIGINAL AMERICA,
((EAST OF THE))
Mississippi.

- I-ALGONQUIN
- II-DAHCOTA
- III-HURON
- IV-CATAWBA
- V-CHEROKEE
- VI-CHIEE
- VII-NATCHEZ
- VIII-MOBILIAN



at an early day, abandoned the region where they first became known to European voyagers, and placed themselves under the shelter of the French in Canada.

The forests beyond the Saco, with New Hampshire, and even as far as Salem, constituted the sachemship of Pennacook, or Pawtucket, and often afforded a refuge to the remnants of feeblcr nations around them. The tribe of the Massachusetts, even before the colonization of the country, had almost disappeared from the shores of the bay that bears its name: and the villages of the interior resembled insulated and nearly independent bands, that had lost themselves in the wilderness.

Of the Pokanokets, who dwelt round Mount Hope, and were sovereigns over Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a part of Cape Cod; of the Narragansets, who dwelt between the bay that bears their name and the present limits of Connecticut, holding dominion over Rhode Island and its vicinity, as well as a part of Long Island, — the most civilized of the northern nations; of the Pequods, the branch of the Mohegans that occupied the eastern part of Connecticut, and ruled a part of Long Island, — earliest victims to the Europeans, — I have already related the overthrow. The country between the banks of the Connecticut and the Hudson was possessed by independent villages of the Mohegans, kindred with the Mannhattans, whose few "smokes" once rose amidst the forests on New York Island.

The Lenni Lenape, in their two divisions of the Minsi and the Delawares, occupied New Jersey, the valley of the Delaware far up towards the sources of that river, and the entire basin of the Schuylkill. The passive devotion of the Delawares to a system of peace, was to them the degrading confession of their defeat and submission to the Five Nations.

Beyond the Delaware, on the Eastern Shore, dwelt the Nanticokes, who disappeared without glory, or melted imperceptibly into other tribes; and the names

of Accomac and Pamlico are the chief memorials of tribes that made dialects of the Algonquin the mother tongue of the natives along the sea-coast as far south, at least, as Cape Hatteras. It is probable, also, that the Corees, or Coramines, who dwelt to the southward of the Neuse River, spoke a kindred language — thus establishing Cape Fear as the southern limit of the Algonquin speech.

In Virginia, the same language was heard throughout the whole dominion of Powhatan, which had the tribes of the Eastern Shore as its dependencies, and included all the villages west of the Chesapeake, from the most southern tributaries of James River to the Patuxent.

The Shawnees connect the south-eastern Algonquins with the west. The basin of the Cumberland River is marked by the earliest French geographers as the home of this restless nation of wanderers. A part of them afterwards had their “cabins” and their “springs” in the neighborhood of Winchester. Their principal band removed from their hunting-fields in Kentucky to the head waters of one of the great rivers of South Carolina; a part of them joined the Muskogees. About the year 1698, three or four score of their families, with the consent of the government of Pennsylvania, removed from Carolina, and planted themselves on the Susquehanna. Others followed; and when, in 1732, the number of Indian fighting men in Pennsylvania was estimated to be seven hundred, one half of them were Shawnee emigrants.

The Miamis were more stable, and their own traditions tell, that their ancient limits extended from the Scioto to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Chicago. They occupied the southern moiety of the peninsula of Michigan, and their principal mission was founded by Alloüez on the banks of the St. Joseph.

The Illinois were kindred to the Miamis, and their country lay between the Wabash, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. Marquette found a village of them on the

Moingona, but its occupants soon withdrew to the east of the Mississippi; and Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Peoria, still preserve the names of the principal bands, of which the original strength has been greatly exaggerated.

In the early part of the eighteenth century, the Potawatomes had crowded the Miamis from their dwellings at Chicago: the intruders came from the islands near the entrance of Green Bay, and were a branch of the great nation of the Chippewas. That nation, or, as some write, the Ojibwas, — the Algonquin tribes of whose dialect, mythology, traditions, and customs, we have the fullest accounts, — held the country from the mouth of Green Bay to the head waters of Lake Superior, and were early visited by the French at Sault St. Mary and Chegoimegon. They adopted into their tribes many of the Ottawas from Upper Canada, and were themselves often included by the early French writers under that name.

Ottawa is but the Algonquin word for “trader;” and Mascoutins are but “dwellers in the prairie.” The latter hardly implies a band of Indians distinct from the Chippewas; but history recognizes, as a separate Algonquin tribe near Green Bay, the Menomonies, who were found there in 1669, who retained their ancient territory long after the period of French and of English supremacy, and who prove their high antiquity as a nation by the singular character of their dialect.

South-west of the Menomonies, the restless Sacs and Foxes, ever dreaded by the French, held the passes from Green Bay and Fox River to the Mississippi, and, with insatiate avidity, roamed, in pursuit of contest, over the whole country between the Wisconsin and the upper branches of the Illinois. The Shawnees are said to have an affinity with this nation: that the Kickapoos, who established themselves, by conquest, in the north of Illinois, are but a branch of it, is demonstrated by their speech.

So numerous and so widely extended were the tribes

of the Algonquin family. They were scattered over a moiety, or perhaps more than a moiety, of the territory east of the Mississippi and south of the St. Lawrence, and constituted about one half of the original population of that territory.

II. North-west of the Sacs and Foxes, west of the Chippewas, bands of the Sioux, or DAHCOTAS, had encamped on prairies east of the Mississippi, vagrants between the head waters of Lake Superior and the Falls of St. Anthony. They were a branch of the great family which, dwelling for the most part west of the Mississippi and the Red River, extended from the Saskatchewan to lands south of the Arkansas. French traders discovered their wigwams in 1659; Hennepin was among them, on his expedition to the north; Joseph Marest and another Jesuit visited them in 1687, and again in 1689. There seemed to exist a hereditary warfare between them and the Chippewas. Their relations to the colonists, whether of France or England, were, at this early period, accidental, and related chiefly to individuals. But one little community of the Dahcota family had penetrated the territory of the Algonquins; the Winnebagoes, dwelling between Green Bay and the lake that bears their name, preferred rather to be environed by Algonquins than to stay in the dangerous vicinity of their own kindred. Like other western and southern tribes, their population appears of late to have greatly increased.

III. The nations which spoke dialects of the Huron-Iroquois, or, as it has also been called, of the WYANDOT, were, on the discovery of America, found powerful in numbers, and diffused over a wide territory. The peninsula enclosed between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, had been the dwelling-place of the five confederated tribes of the Hurons. After their defeat by the Five Nations, a part descended the St. Lawrence, and their progeny may still be seen near Quebec; a part were adopted, on equal terms, into the tribes of their conquerors; the Wyandots fled beyond Lake Superior,

and hid themselves in the dreary wastes that divided the Chippewas from their western foes. In 1671, they retreated before the powerful Sioux, and made their home first at St. Mary's and at Michilimackinac, and afterwards near the post of Detroit. Thus the Wyandots within our borders were emigrants from Canada. Having a mysterious influence over the Algonquin tribes, and making treaties with the Five Nations, they spread along Lake Erie; and, leaving to the Miamis the country beyond the Miami of the Lakes, they gradually acquired a claim to the whole territory from that river to the western boundary of New York.

The immediate dominion of the Iroquois — where the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, were first visited by the trader, the missionary, or the war parties of the French — stretched, as we have seen, from the borders of Vermont to Western New York, from the lakes to the head waters of the Ohio, the Susquehannah, and the Delaware. The number of their warriors was declared by the French, in 1669, to be two thousand two hundred; and, in 1677, an English agent, sent on purpose to ascertain their strength, confirmed the precision of the statement. Their geographical position made them umpires in the contest of the French for dominion in the west. Besides, their political importance was increased by their conquests. Not only did they claim some supremacy in Northern New England as far as the Kennebec, and to the south as far as New Haven, and were acknowledged as absolute lords over the conquered Lenape, — the peninsula of Upper Canada was their hunting-field by right of war; they had exterminated the Eries and the Andastes, both tribes of their own family, the one dwelling on the south-eastern banks of Lake Erie, the other on the head waters of the Ohio; they had triumphantly invaded the tribes of the west as far as Illinois; their warriors had reached the soil of Kentucky and Western Virginia; and England, to whose alliance they steadily inclined, availed itself of their treaties for the cession

of territories, to encroach even on the empire of France in America.

Nor had the labors of the Jesuit missionaries been fruitless. The few families of the Iroquois who migrated to the north of Lake Ontario, and raised their huts round Fort Frontenac, remained in amity with the French; and two villages of Iroquois converts, the Cahnewagas of New England writers, were established near Montreal, a barrier against their heathen countrymen and against New York.

The Huron tribes of the north were environed by Algonquins. At the south, the Chowan, the Meherrin, the Nottoway, villages of the Wyandot family, have left their names to the rivers along which they dwelt; and the Tuscaroras, kindred with the Five Nations, were the most powerful tribe in North Carolina. In 1708, its fifteen towns still occupied the upper country on the Neuse and the Tar, and could count twelve hundred warriors, as brave as their Mohawk brothers.

IV. South of the Tuscaroras, the midlands of Carolina sheltered the CATAWBAS. Its villages included the Woccons, and the nation spoke a language of its own: that language is now almost extinct, being known only to less than one hundred persons, who linger on the banks of a branch of the Santee. Imagination never assigned to the Catawbias, in their proudest days, more than twelve hundred and fifty warriors; the oldest enumeration was made in 1743, and gives but four hundred. It may therefore be inferred, that, on the first appearance of Europeans, their language was in the keeping of not more than three thousand souls. History knows them chiefly as the hereditary foes of the Iroquois tribes, before whose prowess and numbers they dwindled away.

V. The mountaineers of aboriginal America were the CHEROKEES, who occupied the upper valley of the Tennessee River, as far west as Muscle Shoals, and the highlands of Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama—the most picturesque and most salubrious region east of the

Mississippi. Their homes were encircled by blue hills rising beyond hills, of which the lofty peaks would kindle with the early light, and the overshadowing ridges envelop the valleys like a mass of clouds. There the rocky cliffs, rising in naked grandeur, defy the lightning, and mock the loudest peals of the thunder-storm; there the gentler slopes are covered with magnolias and flowering forest-trees, decorated with roving climbers, and ring with the perpetual note of the whip-poor-will; there the wholesome water gushes profusely from the earth in transparent springs; snow-white cascades glitter on the hill-sides; and the rivers, shallow, but pleasant to the eye, rush through the narrow vales, which the abundant strawberry crimsons, and coppices of rhododendron and flaming azalea adorn. At the fall of the leaf, the fruit of the hickory and the chestnut is thickly strown on the ground. The fertile soil teems with luxuriant herbage, on which the roebuck fattens; the vivifying breeze is laden with fragrance; and daybreak is ever welcomed by the shrill cries of the social nighthawk and the liquid carols of the mocking-bird. Through this lovely region were scattered the little villages of the Cherokees, nearly fifty in number, each consisting of but a few cabins, erected where the bend in the mountain stream offered at once a defence and a strip of alluvial soil for culture. Their towns were always by the side of some creek or river, and they loved their native land; above all, they loved its rivers—the Keowee, the Tugeloo, the Flint, and the beautiful branches of the Tennessee. Running waters, inviting to the bath, tempting the angler, alluring wild-fowl, were necessary to their paradise. Their language, like that of the Iroquois, abounds in vowels, and is destitute of the labials. Its organization has a common character, but etymology has not yet been able to discover conclusive analogies between the roots of words. The “beloved” people of the Cherokees were a nation by themselves. Who can say for how many centuries, safe in their undiscovered fastnesses, they had decked their war-chiefs with

the feathers of the eagle's tail, and listened to the counsels of their "old beloved men"? Who can tell how often the waves of barbarous migrations may have broken harmlessly against their cliffs, where nature was the strong ally of the defenders of their land?

VI. South-east of the Cherokees dwelt the UCHEES. They claimed the country above and below Augusta, and, at the earliest period respecting which we can surmise, seem not to have extended beyond the Cha-ta-hoo-chee; yet they boast to have been the oldest inhabitants of that region. They now constitute an inconsiderable band in the Creek confederacy, and are known as a distinct family, not from political organization, but from their singularly harsh and guttural language. When first discovered, they were but a remnant,—bewildering the inquirer by favoring the conjecture, that, from the north and west, tribe may have pressed upon tribe; that successions of nations may have been exterminated by invading nations; that even languages, which are the least perishable monument of the savages, may have become extinct.

VII. The NATCHEZ, also, are now merged in the same confederacy; but they, with the Taensas, were known to history as a distinct nation, residing in scarcely more than four or five villages, of which the largest rose near the banks of the Mississippi. Their language, as far as comparisons have been instituted, has no etymological affinity with any other whatever. Here, again, the imagination too readily kindles to invent theories; and the tradition has been widely received, that the dominion of the Natchez once extended even to the Wabash; that they are emigrants from Mexico; that they are the kindred of the incas of Peru. The close observation of the state of the arts among them, tends to dispel these illusions; and history knows them only as a feeble and inconsiderable nation.

VIII. With these exceptions of the Uchees and the Natchez, the whole country south-east, south, and west of the Cherokees, to the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexi-

co, to the Mississippi and the confluence of the Tennessee and Ohio, was in the possession of one great family of nations, of which the language was named by the French the MOBILIAN, and is described by Gallatin as the MUSKOGEE-CHOCTA. The name includes three considerable confederacies, each of which still exists, and perhaps even with some increase of numbers.

The country bounded on the Ohio at the north, on the Mississippi at the west, on the east by a line drawn from the bend in the Cumberland River to the Muscle Shoals of the Tennessee, and extending at the south into the territory of the state of Mississippi, was the land of the cheerful, brave Chickasas, the faithful, the invincible allies of the English. Marquette found them already in possession of guns, obtained probably through Virginia; La Salle built Fort Prudhomme on one of their bluffs; but their chosen abodes were in the upland country, which gives birth to the Yazoo and the Tombecbee, the finest and most fruitful on the continent,—where the grass is verdant in midwinter; the blue-bird and the robin are heard in February; the springs of pure water gurgles up through the white sands, to flow through natural bowers of evergreen holly; and, if the earth be but carelessly gashed to receive the kernel of maize, the thick corn springs abundantly from the fertile soil. The region is as happy as any beneath the sun; and the love which it inspired made its occupants, though not numerous, yet the most intrepid warriors of the south.

Below the Chickasas, between the Mississippi and the Tombecbee, was the land of the Choctas, who were gathered, on the eastern frontier, into compact villages, but elsewhere were scattered through the interior of their territory. Dwelling in plains or among gentle hills, they excelled every North American tribe in their agriculture,—subsisting chiefly on corn, and placing little dependence on the chase. Their country was healthful, abounding in brooks. The number of their warriors perhaps exceeded four thousand. Their dialect of the Mobilian so nearly resembles that of the Chickasas, that

they almost seemed but one nation. The Choctas were allies of the French, yet preserving their independence: their love for their country was intense, and, in defending it, they utterly contemned danger.

The ridge that divided the Tombecbee from the Alabama, was the line that separated the Choctas from the groups of tribes which were soon united in the confederacy of the Creeks or Muskogeas. Their territory, including all Florida, reached, on the north, to the Cherokees; on the north-east and east, to the country on the Savannah and to the Atlantic. Along the sea, their northern limit seems to have extended almost to Cape Fear; at least, the tribes with which the settlers at Charleston first waged war, are enumerated by one writer as branches of the Muskogeas. Their population, spread over a fourfold wider territory, did not exceed that of the Choctas in number. Their towns were situated on the banks of beautiful creeks, in which their country abounded; the waters of their bold rivers, from the Coosa to the Chatahoochee, descended rapidly, with a clear current, through healthful and fertile regions; they were careful in their agriculture, and, before going to war, assisted their women to plant. In Florida, they welcomed the Spanish missionaries; and, throughout their country, they derived so much benefit from the arts of civilization, that their numbers soon promised to increase; and, being placed between the English of Carolina, the French of Louisiana, the Spaniards of Florida, — bordering on the Choctas, the Chickasas, and the Cherokees, — their political importance made them esteemed as the most powerful Indian nation north of the Gulf of Mexico. They readily gave shelter to fugitives from other tribes; and their speech became so modified, that, with radical resemblances, it has the widest departure from its kindred dialects. The Yamassees were one of their bands; and the Seminoles of Florida are but “wild men,” lost from their confederacy, and abandoning agriculture for the chase.

Such is a synopsis of the American nations east of the

Mississippi. It is not easy to estimate their probable numbers at the period of their discovery. Yet we shall approach, and perhaps exceed, a just estimate of their numbers two hundred years ago, if to the various tribes of the Algonquin race we allow about ninety thousand; of the Eastern Sioux, less than three thousand; of the Iroquois, including their southern kindred, about seventeen thousand; of the Catawbias, three thousand; of the Cherokees, twelve thousand; of the Mobilian confederacies and tribes,—that is, of the Chickasas, Choctas, and Muskhogees,—fifty thousand; of the Uchees, one thousand; of the Natchez, four thousand;—in all, it may be, not far from one hundred and eighty thousand souls.

CHAPTER XLVI.

WAR WITH THE TUSCARORAS AND YAMASSEES.

THE Tuscaroras changed their dwelling-place before the treaty of Utrecht was completed. Their chiefs had become indignant at the encroachments of the proprietaries of Carolina, who had assigned their lands to unhappy German fugitives from the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine. De Graffenried, who had undertaken the establishment of the exiles, accompanied by Lawson, the surveyor-general for the northern province, in September of 1711, ascended the Neuse River in a boat, to discover how far it was navigable, and through what kind of country it flowed. Seized by a party of sixty well-armed Indians, both were compelled to travel all night long, till they reached a village of the Tuscaroras, and were delivered up to its chief. Before a numerous council of the principal men from various towns of the tribe, complaint was made of the conduct of the English

in Carolina, and especially of the severity of Lawson. He who, with his compass and chain, had marked their territory into lots for settlers, was reproved as "the man who sold their land." After a discussion of two days, the death of the prisoners was decreed. The large fire was kindled; the ring was drawn round the victims, and strown with flowers. On the morning appointed for the execution, a council assembled anew. Round the white men sat the chiefs, in two rows; behind them were three hundred of the people, engaged in festive dances. No reprieve was granted to Lawson, yet Graffenried, as the great chieftain of the Palatines, on pledging his people to neutrality, and promising to occupy no land without the consent of the tribe, was suffered, after a captivity of five weeks, to return through the woods on foot. He returned to desolated settlements. On the twenty-second of September, small bands of the Tuscaroras and Corees, acting in concert, approached the scattered cabins along the Roanoke and Pamlico Sound. As night came on, a whoop from a warrior called his fierce associates from the woods, to commence the indiscriminate carnage. The wretched Palatines, now tenants of the wilderness, encountered a foe more savage than Louvois and the hated Louis XIV. At Bath, the Huguenot refugees, and the planters in their neighborhood, were struck down by aid of the glare from the burning of their own cabins; and, with a lighted pine knot in one hand, and the tomahawk in the other, the hunters after men pursued their game through the forests. In the three following days, they scoured the country on the Albemarle Sound, and did not desist from slaughter till they were disabled by fatigue.

Not all the Tuscaroras had joined in the conspiracy; Spotswood sought immediately to renew with them an alliance. But the burgesses of Virginia would grant no effectual aid. The assembly of South Carolina promptly voted relief; and, defying the hardships of a long march through the wilderness, Barnwell, with Cherokees, Creeks, Catawbias, and Yamassees, as allies, led a

small detachment of militia to the banks of Neuse River. There, in the upper part of Craven county, the Indians were intrenched in a rude fort. With the aid of a few soldiers of North Carolina, the fort was besieged. But the province was rent by intestine divisions; even imminent danger had not roused its inhabitants to harmonious action; they retained their hatred for the rule of the proprietaries; and, surrounded by difficulties, Barnwell could only negotiate with the Indians a treaty of peace.

The troops of South Carolina, on their return, themselves violated the treaty, enslaving inhabitants of villages which should have been safe under its guaranties; and the massacres on Neuse River were renewed. The province was impoverished, the people dissatisfied with their government; in autumn, 1712, the yellow fever raged under its most malignant form; and the country south of Pamlico Sound seemed destined to become once more a wilderness. But Spotswood succeeded in dividing the Tuscaroras. Large reënforcements of Indians from South Carolina arrived, with a few white men, under James Moore; in March, 1713, the enemy were pursued to their fort (within the limits of the present Greene county) on the Neuse; and, on its surrender, eight hundred became captives. The legislature of North Carolina, assembling in May, under a new governor, issued its first bills of credit, to the amount of eight thousand pounds; "the very refractory" among the people grew zealous to supply the forces with provisions; the enemy was chased across the lakes and swamps of Hyde county; the woods were patrolled by red allies, who hunted for prisoners to be sold as slaves, or took scalps for a reward. At last, the hostile part of the Tuscaroras abandoned their old hunting-grounds, and, migrating to the vicinity of the Oneida Lake, were welcomed by their kindred of the Iroquois as the sixth nation of their confederacy. In 1715, their humbled allies were established as a single settlement in the precincts of Hyde. Thus the power of the natives of North

Carolina was broken, and its interior forests became safe places of resort to the emigrant.

Meantime, in August, 1714, the house of Hanover had ascended the English throne—an event doubly grateful to the colonies. The contest of parties is the struggle, not between persons, but between ideas; and the abiding sympathy of nations is never won but by an appeal to the controlling principles of the age. George I. had crossed the sea to become the sovereign of a country of which he understood neither the institutions, the manners, nor the language. And yet, throughout English America, even the clergy heralded his elevation as an omen of happiness; and from the pulpit in Boston it was announced of its people that, in the whole land, “not a dog can wag his tongue to charge them with disloyalty.” To the children of the Puritans, the event was the triumph of Protestantism, and the guaranty of Protestant liberties.

The accession of the house of Hanover was, moreover, a pledge of a pacific policy; and the pledge was redeemed. Louis XIV. drew near his end; he had outlived his children and every grandchild, except the new king of Spain,—his own glory,—the gratitude of those whom he had advanced. “My child,” said he, as, in August, 1715, he gave a farewell blessing to his great-grandson, the boy of five years old, who was to be his successor, “you will be a great king; do not imitate me in my passion for war; seek peace with your neighbors, and strive to be, what I have failed to be, a solace to your people.” “Sad task,” Madame de Maintenon had written, “to amuse a man who is past being amused;” and, quitting his bedside, she left him, after a reign of seventy-two years, to die alone. He had sought to extend his power beyond his life by establishing a council of regency; but the will was cancelled by the parliament, in favor of his nephew, the brave, generous, but abandoned Philip of Orleans.

The personal interest of the absolute regent in France

was opposed to the rigid doctrine of legitimacy, and sought an alliance with England; while the king of Spain, under the guidance of Alberoni, was moved not less by hereditary attachment to legitimacy than by personal ambition, to favor alike the pretensions of the Stuarts to the British throne and of himself to the succession in France. By the influence of Protestant England, the wily, degenerate, avaricious Du Bois was made cardinal, the successor of Fenelon in an archbishopric, and prime minister of France. Under such auspices was a happy peace secured to the colonies of rival nations.

Neither the accession of George II. in 1727, nor the coming of age of Louis XV., changed the dispositions of the governments. The character of Walpole was a pledge of moderation. Ignorant of theories, not familiar with the history or politics of foreign nations, he was profoundly versed in the maxims of worldly wisdom. Of the American colonies he knew little; but they profited by the character of a statesman who ever shunned measures that might lead to an insurrection,—who rejected every system of revenue that required the sabre and the bayonet to enforce it.

In his honorable policy, Walpole was favored by the natural moderation of Fleury, who, at the age of seventy-three, was called by Louis XV. to direct the affairs of France. The wise cardinal had a discriminating mind, and an equitable candor, which shunned intrigue and forbade distrust. The preservation of peace was his rule of administration; and he was the chosen mediator between conflicting sovereigns. His clear perceptions anticipated impending revolutions; but he hushed the storm till his judgment sunk under the infirmities of fourscore. Happy period for the colonies! Let England judge as it will of the minister to whom it owes septennial parliaments, America blesses the memory of Walpole and of Fleury, as of statesmen who preferred commerce to conquest, and desired no higher glory than that of guardians of peace. For a quarter of a century, if less forbearance was shown towards

Spain, the controversies of Great Britain and France respecting colonial boundaries, though they might lead to collisions, could not occasion a rupture.

The prospect of continued peace occasioned a rapid extension of the Indian traffic of South Carolina. Favored by the mild climate, its traders had their store-houses among the Chickasas and near the Natchez, and by intimidation, rather than by good will, gained admission even into villages of the Choctas. Still more intimate were their commercial relations with the branches of the Muskogees in the immediate vicinity of the province, especially with the Yamassees, who, from impatience at the attempts at their conversion to Christianity, had deserted their old abodes in Florida, and planted themselves from Port Royal Island along the north-east bank of the Savannah River. The tribes of Carolina had been regarded as "a tame and peaceable people;" they were very largely in debt for the advances which had been made them; and "the traders began to be hard upon them, because they would be paid." The influence of Bienville, of Louisiana, prevailed with the Choctas, and the English were driven from their villages. The whole Indian world from Mobile River to Cape Fear was in commotion. The Yamassees renewed friendly relations with the Spaniards at St. Augustine; they won the alliance of the Catawbas and the Cherokees; and their messenger with "the bloody stick" made his way through flowering groves to the new towns of the Appalachian emigrants on the Savannah, to the ancient villages of the Uchees, to the rivers along which the various tribes of the Muskogees had their dwellings; and they delayed their rising till the deliberations of the grand council of the Creeks should be finished, and the emblem of war be returned.

In passion-week of 1715, the traders at Pocotaligo observed the madness of revenge kindling among the Yamassees. On Thursday night, unaware of immediate danger, Nairne, the English agent, sent with proposals of peace, slept in the round house, with the civil

chiefs and the war captains. On the morning of Good Friday, the indiscriminate massacre of the English began. One boy escaped into the forest, and, after wandering for nine days, reached a garrison. Seaman Burroughs, a strong man and swift runner, broke through the ranks of the Indian band; and, though hotly pursued, and twice wounded, by running ten miles, and swimming one, he reached Port Royal, and alarmed the town. Its inhabitants, some in canoes, and some on board a ship, which chanced to be in the harbor, fled to Charleston. The numerous bands of the enemy, hiding by day in the swamps, and by night attacking the scattered settlements, drove the planters towards the capital. The Yamassees and their confederates advanced even as far as Stono, where they halted, that their prisoners — planters, with their wives and little ones — might be tormented and sacrificed at leisure. On the north, a troop of horse, insnared by a false guide in an ambush among large trees, thickly strown by a late hurricane, lost its commander, and retreated. The insurgent Indians carried their ravages even to the parish of Goose Creek; Charleston itself was in peril; the colony seemed near its ruin.

But the impulse of savage passion could not resist the deliberate courage of civilized man. The spirit of the colony was aroused. On the north, the insulated band of invaders received a check, and vanished into the forests; on the south, Charles Craven, the governor of the province, himself promptly led the forces of Colleton district to the desperate conflict with the confederated warriors on the banks of the Salkehatchie. The battle was bloody, and often renewed. The air resounded with savage yells; arrows, as well as bullets, were discharged, with fatal aim, from behind trees and coppices. At last, the savages gave way, and were pursued beyond the present limits of Carolina. The Yamassees retired into Florida, and at St. Augustine were welcomed with peals from the bells and a salute of guns, as though allies and friends had returned from victory.

The Uchees left their old settlements below Broad River, and the Appalachians their new cabins near the Savannah, and retired towards Flint River. When Craven returned to Charleston, he was greeted with the applause which his alacrity, courage, and conduct, had merited. The colony had lost about four hundred of its inhabitants.

The war with the Yamassees was followed by a domestic revolution in Carolina. Its soil had been defended by its own people, and they resolved, under the sovereignty of the English monarch, to govern themselves. Scalping parties of Yamassees, from their places of refuge in Florida, continued to hover on the frontiers of a territory which the Spaniards still claimed as their own. The proprietaries took no efficient measures for protecting their colony. Instead of inviting settlers, they monopolized the lands which they had not contributed to defend. The measures adopted for the payment of the colonial debts were negatived, in part because they imposed a duty of ten pounds on the introduction of every negro from abroad. The polls for the election of representatives had hitherto been held for the whole province at Charleston alone; the provincial legislature permitted the votes to be given in each parish. But because this reform increased popular power, this also was negatived. Some of the members of the proprietary council had, by long residence, become attached to the soil and the liberties of their new country; they were supplanted, or their influence destroyed, by an abrupt increase of the number of their associates. In consequence, at the election of assembly, in 1719, though it was chosen at Charleston, the agents of the proprietaries could not succeed in procuring the return of any one whom they desired. The members elect, at private meetings, "resolved to have no more to do with the proprietors;" and the people of the province entered "into an association to stand by their rights and privileges." It was remembered that the lords of trade had formerly declared the charter

forfeit; that the house of peers had favored its prosecution; and, as the known hostility of Spain threatened an invasion, the assembly, in November, resolved "to have no regard to the officers of the proprietaries or to their administration," and begged Robert Johnson, the governor, "to hold the reins of government for the king." When Johnson, remaining true to his employers, firmly rejected their offer, they, with Arthur Middleton for their president, voted themselves "a convention delegated by the people;" and, resolved "on having a governor of their own choosing," they elected the brave James Moore, a favorite with the people, "whom all the country had allowed to be the fittest person" for undertaking its defence. The militia of Charleston was to be reviewed on the twenty-first of December; and that day was selected for proclaiming the new chief magistrate. To Parris, the commanding officer, Johnson issued particular orders to delay the muster, nor suffer a drum to be beat in the town. But the people of Carolina had, by the power of public opinion, renounced the government of the proprietaries; and, on the appointed day, with colors flying at the forts, and on all the ships in the harbor, the militia, which was but the people in arms, drew up in the public square. It would be tedious to relate minutely by what menaces, what entreaties, what arguments, Johnson struggled to resist the insurrection. In the king's name, he commanded Parris to disperse his men; and Parris answered, "I obey the convention." "The revolutioners had their governor, council, and convention, and all of their own free election." Peacefully, and without bloodshed, palatines, landgraves, and caciques, were dismissed from Carolina, where they had become so little connected with the vital interests of the state, that history with difficulty preserves them from oblivion.

In 1720, the agent from Carolina obtained in England a ready hearing from the lords of the regency. The proprietors were esteemed to have forfeited their

charter ; measures were taken for its abrogation ; and, in the mean time, Francis Nicholson — an adept in colonial governments, trained by experience in New York, in Virginia, in Maryland ; brave, and not penurious, but narrow and irascible ; of loose morality, yet a fervent supporter of the Church — received a royal commission as provisional governor of the province. The bold act of the people of Carolina, which in England was respected as an evidence of loyalty, was remembered in America as an example for posterity. The introduction of the direct regal supremacy was a pledge of more than security to the southern frontier : no lines were either run or proposed ; and the neglect was an omen that the limits of the stronger nation would be advanced by encroachments or conquest.

The first act of Nicholson, in 1721, confirmed peace with the natives. On the borders of the territory of the peaceful Cherokees, he was met, in congress, by the chiefs of thirty-seven different villages. They smoked with him the pipe of peace, and marked the boundaries between the “beloved nation” and the colonists ; and they returned to their happy homes in the mountain vales pleased with their generous brother and new ally. A treaty of commerce and peace was also concluded with the Creeks, whose hunting-grounds it was solemnly agreed should extend to the Savannah. Yet the ambition of England was not bounded by that river ; and on the forks of the Alatamaha, in defiance of remonstrances from Spain and from Florida, a fort was kept by a small English garrison.

The controversy was not adjusted, when, in September, 1729, under the sanction of an act of parliament, and for the sum of twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds, seven eighths of the proprietaries sold to the crown their territory, the jurisdiction over it, and their arrears of quitrents. Lord Carteret alone, joining in the surrender of the government, reserved an eighth share in the soil. This is the period when a royal governor was first known in North Carolina. Its se-

cluded hamlets had not imitated the popular revolution of the southern province.

So soon as the royal government was fully confirmed, it attempted, by treaties of union, to convert the Indians on the borders of Carolina into allies or subjects; and, early in 1730, Sir Alexander Cumming, a special envoy, guided by Indian traders to Keowee, summoned a general assembly of the chiefs of the Cherokees to meet at Nequassee, in the valley of the Tennessee. They came together in the month of April, and were told that King George was their sovereign. When they offered a chapel, four scalps of their enemies, and five eagles' tails, as the records of the treaty, and the pledge of their fidelity, it was proposed to them to send deputies to England; and English writers interpreted their assent as an act of homage to the British monarch. In England, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was drawn up by the English, and signed by the name and seal of one party, by the emblems and marks of the other. No white men, except the English, might build cabins or plant corn upon the wide lands of the Cherokees. Thus a nation rose up as a barrier against the French. In September, the seven envoys from the mountains of Tennessee, already bewildered by astonishment at the vastness of London, and the splendor and discipline of the English army, were presented at court; and when the English king claimed their land and all the country about them as his property, surprise and inadvertence extorted from one of their war-chieftains the irrevocable answer, "*To-eu-hah*," — it is "a most certain truth;" and the delivery of eagles' feathers confirmed his words. The covenant promised that love should flow forever like the rivers, that peace should endure like the mountains; and it was faithfully kept, at least for one generation.

CHAPTER XLVII.

BOUNDARY OF FRENCH COLONIES AT THE NORTH.

OF the maritime powers of Europe, it was Spain which chiefly took umbrage at the progress of the English settlements and the English alliances at the south. The questions at issue with France were attended with greater difficulty. The treaty of Utrecht surrendered to England Acadia and Nova Scotia, "with its ancient boundaries." Disputes were to arise respecting them; but even the eastern frontier of the province of Massachusetts was not vindicated without a contest. To the country between the Kennebec and the St. Croix a new claimant appeared in the Abenakis themselves. In 1716, the general court extended its jurisdiction to the utmost bounds of the province; the enterprise of the fishermen and the traders of New England, whom, at first, the convenience of commerce made welcome, not only revived the villages that had been desolated during the war, but, on the eastern bank of the Kennebec, laid the foundation of new settlements, and protected them by forts.

The red men became alarmed. Away went their chiefs across the forests to Quebec, to ask if France had indeed surrendered the country, of which they themselves were the rightful lords; and as Vaudreuil answered, that the treaty of which the English spoke made no mention of their country, their chief resisted the claim of the government of Massachusetts. "I have my land," said he, "where the Great Spirit has placed me; and while there remains one child of my tribe, I shall fight to preserve it." France could not maintain its influence by an open alliance, but its missionaries guided their converts. At Norridgewock, on the banks of the Kennebec, the venerable Sebastian Rasles, for more than a quarter of a century the companion and

instructor of savages, had gathered a flourishing village round a church which, rising in the desert, made some pretensions to magnificence. Severely ascetic, — using no wine, and little food except pounded maize, — a rigorous observer of the days of Lent, — he built his own cabin, tilled his own garden, drew for himself wood and water, prepared his own hominy, and, distributing all that he received, gave an example of religious poverty. And yet he was laborious in garnishing his forest sanctuary, believing the faith of the savage must be quickened by striking appeals to the senses. Himself a painter, he adorned the humble walls of his church with pictures. There he gave instruction almost daily. Following his pupils to their wigwams, he tempered the spirit of devotion with familiar conversation and innocent gayety, winning the mastery over their souls by his powers of persuasion. He had trained a little band of forty young savages, arrayed in cassock and surplice, to assist in the service, and chant the hymns, of the church; and their public processions attracted a great concourse of red men. Two chapels were built near the village, — one dedicated to the Virgin, and adorned with her statue in relief, — another to the guardian angel; and before them the hunter muttered his prayers, on his way to the river or the woods. When the tribe descended to the seaside, in the season of wild-fowl, they were followed by Rasles; and on some islet a little chapel of bark was quickly consecrated.

In 1717, the government of Massachusetts also attempted to establish a mission; and its minister made a mocking of purgatory and the invocation of saints, of the cross and the rosary. “My Christians,” retorted Rasles, “believe the truths of the Catholic faith, but are not skilful disputants;” and he himself prepared a defence of the Roman church. Thus Calvin and Loyola met in the woods of Maine. But the Protestant minister, unable to compete with the Jesuit for the affections of the Indians, returned to Boston, while “the friar remained, the incendiary of mischief.”

Several chiefs had, by stratagem, been seized by the New England government, and were detained as hostages. For their liberty a stipulated ransom had been paid; and still they were not free. In 1721, the Abenakis demanded that their territory should be evacuated, and the imprisoned warriors delivered up, or reprisals would follow. Instead of negotiating, the English seized the young baron de St. Castin, who, being a half-breed, at once held a French commission and was an Indian war-chief; and, after vainly soliciting the savages to surrender Rasles, in January, Westbrooke led a strong force to Norridgewock to take him by surprise. The warriors were absent in the chase, yet the Jesuit had sufficient warning to escape, with the old men and the infirm, into the forest; and the invaders gained nothing but his papers. These were important; for the correspondence with Vaudreuil proved a latent hope of establishing the power of France on the Atlantic. There was found, moreover, a vocabulary of the Abenaki language, which the missionary had compiled, and which has been preserved to this day.

These insults induced the Indians to hope for no peace but by inspiring terror. On returning from the chase, after planting their grounds, they resolved to destroy the English settlements on the Kennebec. They sent deputies to carry the hatchet and chant the war-song among the Hurons of Quebec, and in every village of the Abenakis. The war-chiefs met at Norridgewock, and the work of destruction began by the burning of Brunswick.

The clear judgment of Rasles perceived the issue. The forts of the English could not be taken by the feeble means of the natives: "unless the French should join with the Indians," he reported the land as lost. Many of his red people retired to Canada: he bid them go; but to their earnest solicitations that he would share their flight, the aged man, foreseeing the impending ruin of Norridgewock, replied, "I count not my life dear un-

to myself, so I may finish with joy the ministry which I have received."

The government of Massachusetts, by resolution, declared the eastern Indians to be traitors and robbers; and, while troops were raised for the war, it also stimulated the activity of private parties, by offering for each Indian scalp at first a bounty of fifteen pounds, and afterwards of a hundred.

The expedition to Penobscot was under public auspices. After five days' march through the woods, Westbrook, with his company, came upon the Indian settlement, that was probably above Bangor, at Old Town. He found a fort, seventy yards long, and fifty in breadth, well protected by stockades, fourteen feet high, enclosing twenty-three houses regularly built. On the south side, near at hand, was the chapel, sixty feet long, and thirty wide, well and handsomely furnished within and without; and south of this stood the "friar's dwelling-house." The invaders arrived there on the ninth of March, 1723, at six in the evening. That night they set fire to the village, and by sunrise next morning every building was in ashes.

Twice it was attempted in vain to seize Rasles. At last, on the twenty-third of August, 1724, a party from New England reached Norridgewock unperceived, and escaped discovery till they discharged their guns at the cabins.

There were then about fifty warriors in the place. They seized their arms, and marched forth tumultuously, not to fight, but to protect the flight of their wives, and children, and old men. Rasles, roused to the danger by their clamors, went forward to save his flock by drawing down upon himself the attention of the assailants; and his hope was not vain. Meantime the savages fled to the river, which they passed by wading and swimming, while the English pillaged the cabins and the church, and then, heedless of sacrilege, set them on fire.

After the retreat of the invaders, the savages returned to nurse their wounded and bury their dead. They found

Rasles mangled by many blows, scalped, his skull broken in several places, his mouth and eyes filled with dirt; and they buried him beneath the spot where he used to stand before the altar.

Thus died Sebastian Rasles, the last of the Catholic missionaries in New England; thus perished the Jesuit missions and their fruits,—the villages of the semi-civilized Abenakis and their priests. Rasles was in his sixty-seventh year, and had been thirty-seven years in the service of the church in America. He was naturally robust, but had wasted by fatigues, age, and fastings. He knew several dialects of the Algonquin, and had been as a missionary among various tribes from the ocean to the Mississippi. In 1721, Father de la Chasse had advised his return to Canada. “God has intrusted to me this flock”—such was his answer;—“I shall follow its fortunes, happy to be immolated for its benefit.” In New England, he was regarded as the leader of the insurgent Indians; the brethren of his order mourned for him as a martyr, and gloried in his happy immortality as a saint. The French ministry, intent on giving an example of forbearance, restrained its indignation, and trusted that the joint commissioners for regulating boundaries would restore tranquillity.

The overthrow of the missions completed the ruin of French influence. The English themselves had grown skilful in the Indian warfare; and no war parties of the red men ever displayed more address or heroism than the brave John Lovewell and his companions. His volunteer associates twice returned laden with scalps. On a third expedition, in April, 1725, falling into an ambush of a larger party of Saco Indians, he lost his life in Fryeburg, near a sheet of water which has taken his name; and the little stream that feeds it is still known to the peaceful husbandman as the Battle Brook.

At last, the eastern Indians, despairing of success, instigated, but not supported, by the French, unable to contend openly with their opponents, and excelled even in their own methods of warfare, concluded a peace,

which, in August, 1726, was solemnly ratified by the Indian chiefs as far as the St. John, and was long and faithfully maintained. Influence by commerce took the place of influence by religion, and English trading-houses supplanted French missions. The eastern boundary of New England was established.

Beyond New England no armed collisions took place. By the treaty of Utrecht, the subjects and friends of both nations might resort to each other for the reciprocal benefit of their trade; and an active commerce subsisted between Albany and Montreal by means of the Christian Iroquois. In the administration of Burnet, that commerce was prohibited; and, amidst the bitter hostility of the merchants whose trade was interrupted, New York established a commercial post at Oswego. This was the first in the series of measures which carried the bounds of the English colonies towards Michigan, and, in public opinion, annexed the north-west to our country. In 1727, this trading-post was converted into a fortress, in defiance of the discontent of the Iroquois and the constant protest of France. It was the avenue through which the west was reached by English traders, and the Miamis, and even the Hurons from Detroit, found their way to Albany.

The limit of jurisdiction, as between England and France, was not easy of adjustment. Canada, by its original charter, comprised the whole basin of the St. Lawrence; and that part of Vermont and New York which is watered by streams flowing to the St. Lawrence, had ever been regarded by France as Canadian territory. The boat of Champlain had entered the lake that makes his name a familiar word, in the same summer in which Hudson ascended the North River. Holland had never dispossessed the French; and the conquest and surrender of New Netherlands could transfer no more than the possessions of Holland. There was, therefore, no act of France relinquishing its claim till the treaty of Utrecht. The ambiguous language of that treaty did, indeed, refer to "the Five Nations subject to

England ;" but French diplomacy would not interpret an allusion to savage hordes as an express surrender of Canadian territory. The right of France, then, to that part of New York and Vermont which belongs to the basin of the St. Lawrence, sprung from discovery, occupation, the uniform language of its grants and state papers.

As the claims of discovery and earliest occupation were clearly with the French, the English revived and exaggerated the rights of the Five Nations. In the strife with France, during the government of De la Barre, some of their chiefs had fastened the arms of the duke of York to their castles ; and this act was taken as a confession of irrevocable allegiance to England. The treaty of Ryswick made the condition at the commencement of hostilities the basis of occupation at the time of peace. Now, at the opening of the war, Fort Frontenac had been razed, and the country around it, and Montreal itself, were actually in possession of the Mohawks ; so that all Upper Canada was declared to have become, by the treaty of Ryswick, a part of the domain of the Five Nations, and therefore subject to England.

Again, in 1701, at the opening of the war of the Spanish succession, the chiefs of the Mohawks and Oneidas had appeared in Albany ; and the English commissioners, who could produce no treaty, had seen cause to make a minute in their books of entry, that the Mohawks and the Oneidas had placed their hunting-grounds under the protection of the English. Immediately their hunting-grounds were interpreted to extend to Lake Nipissing ; and, on old English maps, the vast region is included within the dominions of England, by virtue of an act of cession from the Iroquois.

But as a treaty, of which no record existed, could hardly be cited by English lawyers as a surrender of lands, it was the object of Governor Burnet to obtain a confirmation of this grant. Accordingly, in the treaty concluded at Albany, in September, 1726, the cession of the Iroquois country west of Lake Erie, and north of

Erie and Ontario, was confirmed; and, in addition, a strip of sixty miles in width, extending from Oswego to Cuyahoga River at Cleveland, was "submitted and granted," by sachems of the three western tribes, to "their sovereign lord, King George," "to be protected and defended by his said majesty, for the use of the said three nations." The chiefs could give no new validity to the alleged treaty of 1701; they had no authority to make a cession of land; nor were they conscious of attempting it. If France had renounced its rights to Western New York, it had done so only by the treaty of Utrecht. Each new ground for an English claim, was a confession that the terms of that treaty were far from being explicit.

But France did not merely remonstrate against the attempt to curtail its limits and appropriate its provinces. Entering Lake Champlain, it established, in 1631, the fortress of the Crown. The garrison of the French was at first stationed on the eastern shore of the lake, but soon removed to the Point, where its batteries defended the approach to Canada by water, and gave security to Montreal.

The fort at Niagara had already been renewed. Among the public officers of the French, who gained influence over the red men by adapting themselves, with happy facility, to life in the wilderness, was the Indian agent Joncaire. For twenty years he had been successfully employed in negotiating with the Senecas. He was become, by adoption, one of their own citizens and sons, and to the culture of a Frenchman added the fluent eloquence of an Iroquois warrior. "I have no happiness," said he in council, "like that of living with my brothers;" and he asked leave to build himself a dwelling. "He is one of our own children," it was said, in reply; "he may build where he will." And, in 1721, he planted himself in the midst of a group of cabins, at Lewiston, on the site where La Salle had driven a rude palisade, and where Denonville had designed to lay the foundations of a settlement. In May of that year, a

party arrived at the spot, to take measures for a permanent establishment; among them were the son of the governor of New France, De Longueuil, from Montreal, and the admirable Charlevoix, best of early writers on American history. It was then resolved to construct a fortress. The party were not insensible to the advantages of the country; they observed the rich soil of Western New York, its magnificent forests, its agreeable and fertile slopes, its mild climate. "A good fortress in this spot, with a reasonable settlement, will enable us" — thus they reasoned — "to dictate law to the Iroquois, and to exclude the English from the fur trade." And, in 1726, four years after Burnet had built the English trading-house at Oswego, the flag of France floated from Fort Niagara.

The fortress at Niagara gave a control over the commerce of the remote interior: if furs descended by the Ottáwa, they went directly to Montreal; and if by way of the lakes, they passed over the portage at the falls. The boundless region in which they were gathered knew no jurisdiction but that of the French, whose trading-canoes were safe in all the waters, whose bark chapels rose on every shore, whose missions extended beyond Lake Superior. The implacable Foxes were chastised, and driven from their old abode on the borders of Green Bay. Except the English fortress at Oswego, the entire country watered by the St. Lawrence and its tributaries was possessed by France.

The same geographical view was applied by the French to their province of Louisiana. On the side of Spain, at the west and south, it was held to extend to the River Del Norte; and on the map published by the French Academy, the line passing from that river to the ridge that divides it from the Red River followed that ridge to the Rocky Mountains, and then descended to seek its termination in the Gulf of California. On the Gulf of Mexico, it is certain that France claimed to the Del Norte. At the north-west, where its collision would have been with the possessions of the com-

pany of Hudson's Bay, no treaty, no commission, appears to have fixed its limits.

On the east, the line as between Spain and France was the half way between the Spanish garrison at Pensacola and the fort which, in 1711, the French had established on the site of the present city of Mobile: with regard to England, Louisiana was held to embrace the whole valley of the Mississippi. Not a fountain bubbled on the west of the Alleghanies but was claimed as being within the French empire. Louisiana stretched to the head-springs of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, of the Kenawah and the Tennessee. "Half a mile from the head of the southern branch of the Savannah River is Herbert's Spring, which flows to the Mississippi: strangers, who drank of it, would say they had tasted of French waters."

The energy of the centralized government of New France enabled it to act with promptness; and, before the English government could direct its thoughts to the consequences, the French had secured their influence on the head-springs of the Ohio.

In 1698, a branch of the Shawnees, offended with the French, established themselves at Conestogo; in 1700, William Penn received them as a part of the people of Pennsylvania; and they scattered themselves along the upper branches of the Delaware and the Susquehannah. About the year 1724, the Delaware Indians, for the conveniency of game, migrated to the branches of the Ohio; and, in 1728, the Shawnees gradually followed them. They were soon met by Canadian traders; and Joncaire, the adopted citizen of the Seneca nation, found his way to them from Lake Erie. The wily emissary invited their chiefs to visit the governor at Montreal; and, in 1730, they descended with him to the settlement at that place. In the next year, more of them followed; and the warriors of the tribe put themselves wholly under the protection of Louis XV., having, at their whim, hoisted a white flag in their town. It was even rumored

that, in 1731, the French were building strong houses for them. The government of Canada annually sent them presents and messages of friendship, and deliberately pursued the design of estranging them from the English.

The dangerous extent of the French claims had for a long time attracted the attention of the colonies. To resist it was one of the earliest efforts of Spotswood, who hoped to extend the line of the Virginia settlements far enough to the west to interrupt the chain of communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. He caused, also, the passes in the mountains to be examined, desired to promote settlements beyond them, and sought to concentrate within his province bands of friendly Indians. Finding other measures unavailing, he planned the incorporation of a Virginia Indian company, which, from the emoluments of a monopoly of the traffic, should sustain forts in the western country. Disappointed by the determined opposition of the people to a privileged company, he was still earnest to resist the encroachments of the French; although a wilderness of a thousand miles was a good guaranty against reciprocal collisions.

In the more northern province of Pennsylvania, the subject never slumbered. In 1719, it was earnestly pressed upon the attention of the lords of trade by the governor of that colony, who counseled the establishment of a fort on Lake Erie. But, after the migration of the Delawares and Shawnees, James Logan, the mild and estimable secretary of Pennsylvania, could not rest from remonstrances, demanding the attention of the proprietary to the ambitious designs of France, which extended "to the heads of all the tributaries of the Ohio."

Nor was this all. In the autumn of 1731, the subject was pressed upon the attention of Sir Robert Walpole. But "the grand minister and those about him were too solicitously concerned for their own standing to lay any thing to heart that was at so great a distance."

Thus did England permit the French to establish their influence along the banks of the Alleghany to the Ohio. They had already quietly possessed themselves of the three other great avenues from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi: for the safe possession of the route by way of the Fox and Wisconsin, they had no opponents but in the Sacs and Foxes; that by way of Chicago had been safely pursued since the days of Marquette; and a report on Indian affairs, written by Logan, in 1718, proves that they very early made use of the Miami of the Lakes, where, after crossing the carrying-place of about three leagues, they passed the summit level, and floated down a shallow branch into the Wabash and the Ohio. Upon this line of communication the French established a post; and of the population of Vincennes, a large part trace their lineage to early emigrants from Canada. Yet it has not been possible to fix the date of its foundation with precision. It seems evident from records, that the hero, whose name it bears, was commander there before 1733. In 1735, it was certainly a well-established post. Thus began the commonwealth of Indiana. Travellers, as they passed from Quebec to Mobile or New Orleans, pitched their tents on the banks of the Wabash; till, at last, in 1742, a few families of resident herdsmen gained permission of the natives to pasture their beeves on the fertile fields above Blanche River.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

PROGRESS OF LOUISIANA.

THAT Louisiana extended to the head-spring of the Alleghany, and included the Laurel Ridge, the Great Meadows, and every brook that flowed to the Ohio, was,

on the eve of the treaty of Utrecht, expressly asserted in the royal grant of the commerce of the province. Weary of fruitless efforts, in September, 1712, Louis XIV. had assigned the exclusive trade of the unbounded territory to Anthony Crozat, a French merchant, who had "prospered in opulence to the astonishment of all the world." La Motte Cadillac, now the royal governor of Louisiana, became his partner; and the merchant proprietary and the founder of Detroit sought fortune by discovering mines and encroaching on the colonial monopolies of Spain.

The latter attempt met with no success whatever. Hardly had the officers of the new administration, in May, 1713, landed at Dauphine Island, when they found that every Spanish harbor in the Gulf of Mexico was closed against the vessels of Crozat. Nor could commercial relations be instituted by land. Even liberty of commerce across the wilderness was sternly refused.

From the mines of Louisiana it was still hoped to obtain "great quantities of gold and silver." Two pieces of silver ore, left at Kaskaskia by a traveller from Mexico, were exhibited to Cadillac as the produce of a mine in Illinois; and he hurried up the river, to be, in his turn, disappointed,—finding in Missouri abundance of the purest ore of lead, but neither silver nor gold.

In 1714, on the head waters of the Alabama, at the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa, with the aid of a band of Choctas, Fort Toulouse, a small military post, was built and garrisoned. After a short period of hostilities, which sprung, in part, from the influence of English traders among the Chickasas, the too powerful Bienville, in 1716, chanted the calumet with the great chief of the Natchez; and Fort Rosalie, built chiefly by the natives, protected the French commercial establishment in their village. Such was the origin of the city of Natchez. In the Mississippi valley, it takes rank, in point of age, of every settlement south of Illinois.

Yet for the advancement of the colony Crozat ac-

complished nothing. The Indians were too numerous to be resisted by his factors. The English gradually appropriated the trade with the natives; and every Frenchman in Louisiana, except his agents, fomented opposition to the profitless but fatal monopoly of the Parisian merchant. Crozat resigned his charter. On receiving it, Louisiana possessed twenty-eight French families: in 1717, when he abandoned it, the troops sent by the king, joined to the colonists, did not swell the inhabitants of the colony to more than seven hundred, including persons of every age, sex, and color.

When Crozat resigned the commerce of Louisiana, it was transferred to the Western company, better known as the company of Mississippi, instituted under the auspices of John Law, who had already planned the whimsically gigantic project of collecting all the gold and silver of the kingdom into one bank. Although the union of the bank with the hazards of a commercial company was an omen of the fate of "the system," public credit seemed restored as if by a miracle. The ill success of La Salle, of Iberville, and Crozat, the fruitlessness of the long search for the mines of St. Barbe, were notorious; yet tales were revived of the wealth of Louisiana; its ingots of gold had been seen in Paris. The vision of a fertile empire, with its plantations and cities, the gains from silver mines and mountains of gold, were blended in the French mind into one boundless promise of untold treasures.

It was in September, 1717, that the Western company obtained its grant. On the twenty-fifth day of the following August, after a long but happy voyage, the *Victory*, the *Duchess of Noailles*, and the *Mary*, bearing eight hundred emigrants for Louisiana, chanted their *Te Deum* as they cast anchor near Dauphine Island. Already had Bienville, in the midsummer of 1718, as he descended the Mississippi, selected on its banks a site for the capital of the new empire; and from the prince who denied God, and "trembled at a star," the dissolute but generous regent of France, the promised

city received the name of New Orleans. Instead of ascending the river in the ships, the emigrants disembarked on the crystalline sands of Dauphine Island, to make their way as they could to the lands that had been ceded to them. Some perished for want of enterprise, some from the climate; others prospered by their indomitable energy. The Canadian Du Tissenet, purchasing a compass, and taking an escort of fourteen Canadians, went fearlessly from Dauphine Island, by way of the Mobile River, to Quebec, and returned to the banks of the Mississippi with his family. The most successful colonists of Louisiana were the hardy emigrants from Canada, who brought with them little beyond a staff and the coarse clothes that covered them.

Of the recent emigrants from France, eighty convicts were sent amongst the coppices that overspread New Orleans, to prepare room for a few tents and cottages. At the end of more than three years, the place was still a wilderness spot, where two hundred persons, sent to construct a city, had but encamped among unsubdued canebrakes. And yet Charlevoix, the enlightened traveller, held America happy, as the land in which the patriot could sigh over no decay, could point in sorrow to no ruins of a more prosperous age; and, with cheerful eye, looking into futurity, he predicted the opulence and vastness of the city which was destined to become the emporium of the noblest valley in the world. Still the emigrants of the company, though, in the winter of 1718, one of their ships had sailed up the river, blindly continued to disembark on the miserable coast; and, even in 1721, Bienville himself a second time established the head quarters of Louisiana at Biloxi.

Meantime Alberoni, the active minister of Spain, having, contrary to the interests of France and of Spain, involved the two countries in a war, De Serigny arrived in February of 1719, with orders to take possession of Pensacola. This is the bay called, in the days of De Soto, Anchusi, afterwards Saint Mary,

and Saint Mary of Galve. In 1696, Don Andrés de Arriola had built upon its margin a fort, a church, and a few houses, in a place without commerce or agriculture, or productive labor of any kind. By the capture of the fort, which, after five hours' resistance, in May, 1719, surrendered, the French hoped to extend their power along the Gulf of Mexico from the Rio del Norte to the Atlantic. But within forty days the Spaniards recovered the town, and attempted, in their turn, to conquer the French posts on Dauphine Island and on the Mobile. In September, the French recovered Pensacola, which, by the treaty of 1721, reverted to Spain. The tidings of peace were welcomed at Biloxi with heartfelt joy.

During the period of hostility, La Harpe, in a letter to the nearest Spanish governor, had claimed "Texas to the Del Norte as a part of Louisiana." France was too feeble to stretch its colonies far to the west; but its rights were esteemed so clear, that, in time of peace, the attempt to occupy the country was renewed. This second attempt of Bernard de la Harpe to plant a colony near the Bay of Matagorda had no other results than to incense the natives against the French, and to stimulate the Spaniards to the occupation of the country by a fort. Yet the French ever regarded the mouth of the Del Norte as the western limit of Louisiana on the Gulf of Mexico; and English geography recognized the claim.

But a change had taken place in the fortunes of the Mississippi company. By its connection with the bank of Law, its first attempts at colonization were conducted with careless prodigality. The richest prairies, the most inviting fields, in the southern valley of the Mississippi, were conceded to companies or to individuals who sought principalities in the New World. Thus it was hoped that at least six thousand white colonists would be established in Louisiana. To Law himself there was conceded on the Arkansas one of those vast prairies, of which the wide-spreading waves of verdure

are bounded only by the azure of the sky. There he designed to plant a city and villages; his investments, in 1719, already amounted to a million and a half of livres; through the company, which he directed, possessing a monopoly of the slave trade for the French colonies, he had purchased three hundred negroes; mechanics from France, and a throng of German emigrants, were engaged in his service or as his tenants; his commissioners lavished gifts on the tribes with whom they smoked the calumet.

But the downfall of "the system" of Law, which left France impoverished, public and private credit subverted, the income of capitalists annihilated, and labor pining without employment, abruptly curtailed expenditures for Louisiana; and its very name was in France involved in disgrace. Instead of the splendid visions of opulence, the disenchanted public would now see only unwholesome marshes, which were the tombs of emigrants.

Yet a colony was already planted, destined to survive all dangers. The Alabama River had been a favorite line of communication with the north. From the easier connection of Mobile with the sea, it remained a principal post; but, in August of 1723, the quarters of Bienville were transferred to New Orleans. Thus the central point of French power, after hovering round Ship Island and Dauphine Island, the Bays of Biloxi and Mobile, was at last established on the banks of the Mississippi; and the emigrants to Arkansas gathered into settlements along the river nearer to New Orleans.

The villages of the Natchez, planted in the midst of the most fertile climes of the south-west, rose near the banks of the Mississippi. Each was distinguished by a receptacle for the dead. In the sacred building, of an oval shape, having a circumference of one hundred feet, — a simple hut, without a window, and with a low and narrow opening on the side for the only door, — were garnered up the choicest fetiches of the tribe, of which some were moulded from clay and baked in the

sun. There, too, were gathered the bones of the dead; there an undying fire was kept burning by appointed guardians, as if to warm, and light, and cheer, the departed. On the palisades around this edifice, which has been called a temple, the ghastly trophies of victories were arranged. Once, when, during a storm, such as in those regions sometimes blends the elements, rocks the forest, and bows the hearts of the bravest, the sacred edifice caught fire from the lightning, seven or eight mothers won the applause of the terror-stricken tribes by casting their babes into the flames to appease the unknown power of evil.

The grand chief of the tribe was revered as of the family of the sun, and he could trace his descent with certainty from the nobles; for the inheritance of power was transmitted exclusively by the female line. Hard by the temple, on an artificial mound of earth, stood the hut of the Great Sun: around it were grouped the cabins of the tribe. There, for untold years, the savage had freely whispered his tale of love; had won his bride by a purchase from the father; had placed his trust in manitous; had turned, at daybreak, towards the east, to hail and worship the beams of morning; had listened to the revelations of dreams; had invoked the aid of the medicine men to dance the medicine dance; had achieved titles of honor by prowess in war; had tortured and burned his prisoners. There were the fields where, in spring, the whole tribe had gone forth to cultivate the maize and vines; there the scenes of the glad festivals at the gathering of the harvest; there the natural amphitheatres, where councils were convened, and embassies received, and the calumet of reconciliation passed in solemn ceremony from lip to lip. There the dead had been arrayed in their proudest apparel; the little baskets of food for the first month after death set apart for their nurture; the requiem chanted by the women in mournful strains over their bones; and there, when a great chief died, persons of the same age were strangled,

that they might constitute his escort into the realm of shades.

Nowhere was the power of the grand chieftain so nearly despotic. The race of nobles was so distinct, that usage had moulded language into forms of reverence. In other respects, there was among the Natchez no greater culture than among the Choctas; and their manners hardly differed from those of northern tribes, except as they were modified by climate.

The French, who were cantoned among the Natchez, coveted their soil; the commander, Chopart, swayed by a brutal avarice, demanded as a plantation the very site of their principal village. They listened to the counsels of the Chickasas; they prevailed in part with the Choctas; and a general massacre of the intruders was concerted. The arrival of boats from New Orleans with merchandise hastened the rising of the Natchez. On the morning of the twenty-eighth of November, 1729, the work of blood began; and before noon nearly every Frenchman in the colony was murdered.

The Great Sun, taking his seat under the storehouse of the company, smoked the calumet in complacency, while the head of Chopart was laid at his feet. One after another, the heads of the principal officers at the post were ranged in order around it, while their bodies were left abroad to be a prey to dogs and buzzards. At that time, the Jesuit Du Poisson was the appointed missionary among the Arkansas. Two years before, he had made his way up the Mississippi from New Orleans, till he reached the prairies that had been selected for the plantations of Law, and smoked the calumet with the southernmost tribes of the Dakotas. Desiring to plan a settlement near the margin of the Mississippi, he had touched at Natchez in search of counsel, had preached on the first Sunday in advent, had visited the sick, and was returning with the host from the cabin of a dying man, when he, too, was struck to the ground, and beheaded. The Arkansas, hearing of his end, vowed that

they would avenge him with a vengeance that should never be appeased. Du Codère, the commander of the post among the Yazooos, who had drawn his sword to defend the missionary, was himself killed by a musket ball, and scalped because his hair was long and beautiful. The planter De Koli, a Swiss by birth, one of the most worthy men, zealous for the colony, had come with his son to take possession of a tract of land on St. Catharine's Creek; and both were shot. The Capuchin missionary among the Natchez chanced to be absent when the massacre began; returning, he was shot near his cabin, and a negro slave by his side. Two white men, both mechanics, and two only, were saved. The number of victims was reckoned at two hundred. Women were spared for menial services; children, also, were detained as captives. When the work of death was finished, pillage and carousals began.

The news spread dismay in New Orleans. Messengers were sent with the tidings to the Illinois, by way of the Red River, and to the Choctas and Cherokees. Each house was supplied with arms; the city fortified by a ditch. Danger appeared on every side. The negroes, of whom the number was about two thousand, half as large as the number of the French, showed symptoms of revolt. But the brave, enterprising Le Sueur, repairing to the Choctas, ever ready to engage in excursions, won them to his aid, and was followed across the country by seven hundred of their warriors. On the river the forces of the French were assembled, and placed under the command of Loubois.

Le Sueur was the first to arrive in the vicinity of the Natchez. Not expecting an attack, they were celebrating festivities, which were gladdened by the spoils of the French. Mad with triumph, and exulting in their success, on the evening of the twenty-eighth of January, 1739, they gave themselves up to sleep, after the careless manner of the wilderness. On the following morning, at daybreak, the Choctas broke upon their villages, liberated their captives, and, losing but two of their

own men, brought off sixty scalps, with eighteen prisoners.

On the eighth of February, Loubois arrived, and completed the victory. Of the Natchez, some fled to neighboring tribes for shelter; the remainder of the nation crossed the Mississippi to the vicinity of Natchitoches. They were pursued, and, in 1731, partly by stratagem, partly by force, their place of refuge was taken. Some fled still farther to the west. Of the scattered remnants, some remained with the Chickasas, others found a shelter among the Muskogees. In 1732, the Great Sun and more than four hundred other prisoners were shipped to Hispaniola, and sold as slaves.

Thus perished the nation of the Natchez. Their peculiar language, — which has been still preserved by the descendants of the fugitives, and is, perhaps, now on the point of expiring, — their worship, their division into nobles and plebeians, their bloody funereal rites, — invite conjecture, and yet so nearly resemble in character the distinctions of other tribes, that they do but irritate, without satisfying, curiosity.

The cost of defending Louisiana exceeding the returns from its commerce and from grants of land, the company of the Indies, seeking wealth by conquests or traffic on the coast of Guinea and Hindostan, solicited leave to surrender the Mississippi wilderness; and, on the tenth of April, 1732, the jurisdiction and control over its commerce reverted to the crown of France. The company had held possession of Louisiana for fourteen years, which were its only years of comparative prosperity. The early extravagant hopes had not subsided till emigrants had reached its soil; and the emigrants, being once established, took care of themselves. In 1735, the Canadian Bienville reappeared to assume the command for the king.

It was the first object of the crown to establish its supremacy throughout the borders of Louisiana. The Chickasas were the dreaded enemies of France; it was they who had hurried the Natchez to bloodshed and de-

struction ; it was they whose cedar barks, shooting boldly into the Mississippi, interrupted the connection between Kaskaskia and New Orleans. Thus they maintained their savage independence, and weakened by dividing the French empire. No settlements on the eastern bank of the Mississippi were safe ; and from Natchez, or even from the vicinity of New Orleans, to Kaskaskia, none existed. The English traders from Carolina were, moreover, welcomed to their villages. Nay, more : resolute in their hatred, they had even endeavored to debauch the affections of the Illinois, and to extirpate French dominion from the west. But the tawny envoys from the north descended to New Orleans, and presented the pipe of friendship. " This," said Chicago to Perrier, as he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance — " this is the pipe of peace or war. You have but to speak, and our braves will strike the nations that are your foes."

To secure the eastern valley of the Mississippi, it was necessary to reduce the Chickasas ; and nearly two years were devoted to preparations for the enterprise. At last, in 1733, the whole force of the colony at the south, with D'Artaguet and troops from his command in Illinois, and probably from the Wabash, was directed to meet, on the tenth of May, in the land of the Chickasas. The government of France had itself given directions for the invasion, and its eye was turned anxiously to watch the issue of the strife.

From New Orleans the little fleet of thirty boats and as many pirogues departed for Fort Condé at Mobile, which it did not leave till the fourth of April. In sixteen days, it ascended the river to Tombecbee, a fort which an advance party had constructed on the west bank of the river, two hundred and fifty miles above the bay. Of the men employed in its construction, some had attempted to escape, and enjoy the liberty of the wilderness : in the wilds of Alabama, a court martial sentenced them to death, and they were shot.

The Choctas, lured by gifts of merchandise, and high rewards for every scalp, gathered at Fort Tombecbee to

aid Bienville. Of these red auxiliaries the number was about twelve hundred; and the whole party slowly sounded its way up the windings of the Tombecbee to the point where Cotton Gin Port now stands, and which was but about twenty-one miles south-east of the great village of the Chickasas. There the artillery was deposited in a temporary fortification; and the solitudes of the quiet forests and blooming prairies between the head-sources of the Tombecbee and the Tallahatchie were disturbed by the march of the army towards the long house of their enemy. After the manner of Indian warfare, they encamped, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of May, at the distance of about a league from the village. In the morning, before day, they advanced to surprise the Chickasas. In vain. The brave warriors, whom they had come to destroy, were on the watch; their intrenchments were strong; English flags waved over their fort; English traders had assisted them in preparing defence. Twice, during the day, an attempt was made to storm their log citadel; and twice the French were repelled, with a loss of thirty killed, of whom four were officers. The next day saw skirmishes between parties of Choctas and Chickasas. On the twenty-ninth, the final retreat began; on the thirty-first of May, Bienville dismissed the Choctas, having satisfied them with presents, and, throwing his cannon into the Tombecbee, his party ingloriously floated down the river. In the last days of June, he landed on the banks of the Bayou St. John.

But where was the brave commander in the Illinois, the pride of the flower of Canada? And where the gallant soldier, whose name, in honor of the founder of a state, is borne by the oldest settlement of Indiana?

The young D'Artagnette had already gained glory in the war against the Natchez, braving death under every form. Advanced to the command in the Illinois, he obeyed the summons of Bienville; and, with an army of about fifty French soldiers and more than a thousand red men, accompanied by Father Senat, and by the Canadian Francis Morgan de Vincennes, the careful hero



stole cautiously and unobserved into the country of the Chickasas, and, on the evening before the appointed day, encamped near the rendezvous among the sources of the Yalabusha. But the expected army from below did not arrive. For ten days he retained his impatient allies in the vicinity of their enemy; at last, as they menaced desertion, he consented to an attack. His measures were wisely arranged. One fort was carried, and the Chickasas driven from the cabins which it protected; at the second, the intrepid youth was equally successful; on attacking the third fort, he received one wound and then another, and, in the moment of victory, was disabled. The red men from Illinois, dismayed at the check, fled precipitately. Voisin, a lad of but sixteen years old, conducted the retreat, having the enemy at his heels for five-and-twenty leagues, marching forty-five leagues without food, while his men carried with them such of the wounded as could bear the fatigue. The unhappy D'Artagnette lay weltering in his blood, and by his side fell others of his bravest troops. The Jesuit Senat remained to receive the last sigh of the wounded, regardless of danger, mindful only of duty. Vincennes, too, the Canadian, refused to fly, and shared the captivity of his gallant leader. After the Indian custom, their wounds were stanchd; they were received into the cabins of the Chickasas, and feasted bountifully. At last, when Bienville had retreated, the Chickasas brought the captives into a field; and, while one was spared to relate the deed, the adventurous D'Artagnette; the faithful Senat, true to his mission; Vincennes, whose name will be perpetuated as long as the Wabash shall flow by the dwellings of civilized man;—these, with the rest of the captives, were bound to the stake; and neither valor nor piety could save them from death by slow torments and fire.—Such is the early history of Mississippi.

Ill success did but increase the disposition to continue the war. To advance the colony, a royal edict, in 1737, permitted a ten years' freedom of commerce between the West India Islands and Louisiana; while, in 1739, a new

expedition against the Chickasas, receiving aid not from Illinois only, but even from Montreal and Quebec, and from France, made its rendezvous in Arkansas, on the St. Francis River. In the last of June, the whole army, composed of twelve hundred whites, and twice that number of red and black men, took up its quarters in Fort Assumption, on the bluff of Memphis. But autumn wasted itself in languor and weariness of spirit; the recruits from France, the Canadians, sunk under the climate. When, in March, 1740, a small detachment proceeded towards the Chickasa country, they were met by messengers, who supplicated for peace; and Bienville gladly accepted the calumet. The fort at Memphis was razed; the troops from Illinois and from Canada drew back; the fort on the St. Francis was dismantled; and Bienville returned, to conceal his shame under false pretences. Peace, it was said, was established between France and the Chickasas; but the settlements between Lower Louisiana and the Illinois were interrupted. From Kaskaskia to Baton Rouge was a wilderness; the Chickasas remained the undoubted lords of their country; and, in the great expanse of territory claimed by France, the jurisdiction of her monarch was but a name. The French were kept out of the country of the Chickasas by that nation itself; red men protected the English settlements on the west.

Such was Louisiana more than a half century after the first attempt at colonization by La Salle. Its population may have been five thousand whites and half that number of blacks. Louis XIV. had fostered it with pride and liberal expenditures; an opulent merchant, famed for his successful enterprise, assumed its direction; the company of the Mississippi, aided by boundless but transient credit, had made it the foundation of their hopes; and, again, Fleury and Louis XV. had sought to advance its fortunes. Priests and friars, dispersed through nations from Biloxi to the Dahcotas, propitiated the favor of the savages. But still the valley of the Mississippi was nearly a wilderness. All its patrons — though among

them it counted kings and ministers of state — had not accomplished for it, in half a century, a tithe of the prosperity which, within the same period, sprung naturally from the benevolence of William Penn to the peaceful settlers on the Delaware.

CHAPTER XLIX.

PROGRESS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES.

THE progress of the Anglo-American colonies was advanced, not by anticipating strife with the natives, but by the progress of industry. Peace on the eastern frontier revived the youthful maritime enterprise of Maine, and its settlements began to obtain a fixed prosperity. The French, just before occupying Crown Point, pitched their tents on the opposite eastern shore, in the township of Addison. But already, in 1724, the government of Massachusetts had established Fort Dummer, on the site of Brattleborough; and thus, one hundred and fifteen years after the inroad of Champlain, a settlement of civilized man was made in Vermont. That Fort Dummer was within the limits of Massachusetts, was not questioned by the French; for the fort at Saybrook, according to the French rule, gave to England the whole basin of the river. Of Connecticut the swarming population spread over all its soil, and occupied even its hills; for its whole extent was protected against the desolating inroads of savages. The selfish policy of its governors and its royalist party delayed the increase of New York. Pennsylvania, as the land of promise, was still the refuge of the oppressed. We shall “soon have a German colony,” wrote Logan, in 1726, “so many thousands of Palatines are already in the country.” Nor did the south-

west range of mountains, from the James to the Potomac, fail to become occupied by emigrants, and enlivened by county courts; and, in 1732, the valley of Virginia received white inhabitants. There were no European settlements, even in Carolina, on streams that flow westward. In that colony the abodes of civilized man reached scarcely a hundred miles from the Atlantic; the more remote ones were made by herdsmen, who pastured beeves upon canes and natural grasses; and the cattle, hardly kept from running wild, were now and then rallied at central "Cowpens." Philanthropy opened the way beyond the Savannah. A British poet pointed with admiration across the Atlantic:—

"Lo! swarming southward on rejoicing suns,
Gay colonies extend,—the calm retreat
Of undeserved distress, the better home
Of those whom bigots chase from foreign lands.
Not built on rapine, servitude, and woe,
But bound by social freedom, firm they rise."

While the Palatinate poured forth its sons from their devastated fields; while the Scotch, who had made a sojourn in Ireland, crowding to America, established themselves as freeholders in almost every part of the United States,—the progress of colonization was mainly due to the rapid increase of the descendants of former settlers. At the peace of Utrecht, the inhabitants in all the colonies could not have been far from four hundred thousand. Before peace was again broken, they had grown to be not far from eight hundred thousand. Happy America! to which Providence gave the tranquillity necessary for her growth, as well as the trials which were to discipline her for action.

The effects of the American system of social freedom were best exhibited in the colonies which approached the most nearly to independence. More than a century ago, "the charter governments were celebrated for their excellent laws and mild administration; for the security of liberty and property; for the encour-

agement of virtue, and suppression of vice ; for promoting letters by erecting free schools and colleges." Among the most distinguished sons of Ireland of that day was George Berkeley, who, like Penn, garnered up his hopes for humanity in America. By the testimony of adverse factions, possessing "every virtue under heaven," he repaired to the new hemisphere to found a university. But opinion in England did not favor his design. The funds that had been regarded as pledged to it were diverted to pay the dowry of the princess royal. Disappointed, yet not irritated, Berkeley returned to Europe, to endow a library in Rhode Island ; to cherish the interests of Harvard ; to gain a right to be gratefully remembered at New Haven ; to encourage the foundation of a college at New York. Advanced to a bishopric, he still loved the simplicity and gentle virtues which the villages of America illustrated ; and, as he looked into futurity, the ardor of his benevolence dictated his prophecy —

" In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides, and virtue rules ;
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools ; —

" There shall be sung another golden age, —
The rise of empire and of arts, —
The good and great inspiring epic rage —
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

" Westward the course of empire takes its way.
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day.
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

To free schools and colleges the periodical press had been added, and newspapers began their office in America as the ministers to curiosity and the guides and organs of opinion. On the twenty-fourth day of April, in 1704, the Boston News-Letter, the first ever published on the western continent, saw the light in

the metropolis of New England. In 1719, it obtained a rival at Boston, and was imitated at Philadelphia. In 1740, the number of newspapers in the English colonies on the continent had increased to eleven, of which one appeared in South Carolina, one in Virginia, three in Pennsylvania, — one of them being in German, — one in New York, and the remaining five in Boston. The sheet at first used was but of the foolscap size; and but one, or even but a half of one, was issued weekly. The papers sought support rather by modestly telling the news of the day, than by engaging in conflicts; they had no political theories to enforce, no revolutions in faith to hasten. In Boston, indeed, where the pulpit had marshaled Quakers and witches to the gallows, one newspaper, the *New England Courant*, the fourth American periodical, was established in August, 1721, as an organ of independent opinion, by James Franklin. Its temporary success was advanced by Benjamin, his brother and apprentice, a boy of fifteen, who wrote pieces for its humble columns, worked in composing the types, as well as in printing off the sheets, and himself, as carrier, distributed the papers to the customers. The little sheet satirized hypocrisy, and spoke of religious knaves as of all knaves the worst. This was described as tending “to abuse the ministers of religion in a manner which was intolerable.” “I can well remember,” writes Increase Mather, then more than fourscore years of age, “when the civil government would have taken an effectual course to suppress such a cursed libel.” In July, 1722, a resolve passed the council, appointing a censor for the press of James Franklin; but the house refused its concurrence. The ministers persevered; and, in January, 1723, a committee of inquiry was raised by the legislature. Benjamin Franklin, being examined, escaped with an admonition; James, the publisher, refusing to discover the author of the offence, was kept in jail for a month; his paper was censured as reflecting injuriously on the reverend ministers of the gospel; and, by vote of

the house and council, he was forbidden to print it, "except it be first supervised."

Vexed at the arbitrary proceedings of the assembly; willing to escape from a town where good people pointed with horror at his freedom; indignant, also, at the tyranny of a brother, who, as a passionate master, often beat his apprentice, — Benjamin Franklin, in October, 1723, then but seventeen years old, sailed clandestinely for New York; and, finding there no employment, crossed to Amboy; went on foot to the Delaware; for want of a wind, rowed in a boat from Burlington to Philadelphia; and, bearing marks of his labor at the oar, weary, hungry, having for his whole stock of cash a single dollar, the runaway apprentice — greatest of the sons of New England of that generation, the humble pupil of the free schools of Boston, rich in the boundless hope of youth and the unconscious power of genius, which modesty adorned — stepped on shore to seek food, occupation, shelter, and fortune.

On the deep foundations of sobriety, frugality, and industry, the young journeyman built his fortunes and fame; and he soon came to have a printing-office of his own. Toiling early and late, with his own hands he set types and worked at the press; with his own hands would trundle to the office in a wheelbarrow the reams of paper which he was to use. His ingenuity was such, he could form letters, make types and wood cuts, and engrave vignettes in copper. The assembly of Pennsylvania respected his merit, and chose him its printer. He planned a newspaper; and, when he became its proprietor and editor, he fearlessly defended absolute freedom of thought and speech, and the inalienable power of the people. Desirous of advancing education, he proposed improvements in the schools of Philadelphia; he invented the system of subscription libraries, and laid the foundation of one that was long the most considerable library in America; he suggested the establishment of an academy, which has ripened

into a university ; he saw the benefit of concert in the pursuit of science, and gathered a philosophical society for its advancement. The intelligent and highly-cultivated Logan bore testimony to his merits before they had burst upon the world : — “ Our most ingenious printer has the clearest understanding, with extreme modesty. He is certainly an extraordinary man,” — “ of a singularly good judgment, but of equal modesty,” — “ excellent, yet humble.” “ Do not imagine,” he adds, “ that I overdo in my character of Benjamin Franklin, for I am rather short in it.” When the scientific world began to investigate the wonders of electricity, Franklin excelled all observers in the marvellous simplicity and lucid exposition of his experiments, and in the admirable sagacity with which he elicited from them the laws which they illustrated. It was he who first suggested the explanation of thunder-gusts and the northern lights on electrical principles, and, in the summer of 1752, going out into the fields, with no instrument but a kite, no companion but his son, established his theory by obtaining a line of connection with a thunder-cloud. Nor did he cease till he had made the lightning a household pastime, taught his family to catch the subtile fluid in its inconceivably rapid leaps between the earth and the sky, and compelled it to give warning of its passage by the harmless ringing of bells.

With placid tranquillity, Benjamin Franklin looked quietly and deeply into the secrets of nature. His clear understanding was never perverted by passion, or corrupted by the pride of theory. The son of a rigid Calvinist, the grandson of a tolerant Quaker, he had from boyhood been familiar not only with theological subtleties, but with a catholic respect for freedom of mind. Skeptical of tradition as the basis of faith, he respected reason rather than authority ; and, after a momentary lapse into fatalism, escaping from the mazes of fixed decrees and free will, he gained, with increasing years, an increasing trust in the overruling providence of God.

Adhering to none "of all the religions" in the colonies, he yet devoutly, though without form, adhered to religion. But though famous as a disputant, and having a natural aptitude for metaphysics, he obeyed the tendency of his age, and sought by observation to win an insight into the mysteries of being. Loving truth, without prejudice and without bias, he discerned intuitively the identity of the laws of nature with those of which humanity is conscious; so that his mind was like a mirror, in which the universe, as it reflected itself, revealed her laws. He was free from mysticism, even to a fault. His morality, repudiating ascetic severities, and the system which enjoins them, was indulgent to appetites of which he abhorred the sway; but his affections were of a calm intensity; in all his career, the love of man gained the mastery over personal interest. He had not the imagination which inspires the bard or kindles the orator; but an exquisite propriety, parsimonious of ornament, gave ease of expression and graceful simplicity even to his most careless writings. In life, also, his tastes were delicate. Indifferent to the pleasures of the table, he relished the delights of music and harmony, of which he enlarged the instruments. His blandness of temper, his modesty, the benignity of his manners, made him the favorite of intelligent society; and, with healthy cheerfulness, he derived pleasure from books, from philosophy, from conversation, — now calmly administering consolation to the sorrower, now indulging in the expression of light-hearted gayety.

In his intercourse, the universality of his perceptions bore, perhaps, the character of humor; but, while he clearly discerned the contrast between the grandeur of the universe and the feebleness of man, a serene benevolence saved him from contempt of his race, or disgust at its toils. To superficial observers, he might have seemed as an alien from speculative truth, limiting himself to the world of the senses; and yet, in study, and among men, his mind always sought, with unaffected simplicity, to discover and apply the general principles by which nature and affairs are controlled, — now de-

ducing from the theory of caloric improvements in fire-places and lanterns, and now advancing human freedom by firm inductions from the inalienable rights of man. Never professing enthusiasm, never making a parade of sentiment, his practical wisdom was sometimes mistaken for the offspring of selfish prudence; yet his hope was steadfast, like that hope which rests on the Rock of Ages, and his conduct was as unerring as though the light that led him was a light from heaven. He never anticipated action by theories of self-sacrificing virtue; and yet, in the moments of intense activity, he, from the highest abodes of ideal truth, brought down and applied to the affairs of life the sublimest principles of goodness, as noiselessly and unostentatiously as became the man who, with a kite and hempen string, drew the lightning from the skies. He separated himself so little from his age, that he has been called the representative of materialism; and yet, when he thought on religion, his mind passed beyond reliance on sects to faith in God; when he wrote on politics, he founded the freedom of his country on principles that know no change; when he turned an observing eye on nature, he passed always from the effect to the cause, from individual appearances to universal laws; when he reflected on history, his philosophic mind found gladness and repose in the clear anticipation of the progress of humanity.

Thus did America, by its increase in population, and by the genius of its sons, ripen for independence. But still there was no union: neither danger from abroad, nor English invasions of liberty, had as yet roused the colonies to a common resistance. Not even the proposal to abrogate charters could excite a united opposition. When, in 1726, the charter of Massachusetts was explained by the act of the king, the change was held to require, and it received, the assent of the colony. And Massachusetts could but submit, when, after a long strife, its territory was unjustly abridged in favor of the royal government of New Hampshire.

The relations with the Iroquois had a greater tendency

to effect concert; they interested New England on the east; and, in 1722, at a congress in Albany, Virginia, as well as Pennsylvania, was represented by its governor.

The necessity of joint action, for purposes of defence, had led even Spotswood, of Virginia, to suggest to the board of trade that "the regulation of that assistance should not be left to the precarious humor of an assembly." But no attempt was made from England to tax America. It is true that, in 1728, the profligate Sir William Keith—once the governor of Pennsylvania, and afterwards, for selfish purposes, a fiery patriot, boisterous for liberty and property, meaning a new issue of paper money—submitted to the king the inquiry, "whether the duties of stamps upon parchment and paper in England may not, with good reason, be extended by act of parliament to all the American plantations." The suggestion, which, probably, was not original with Keith, met with no favor from the commissioners of trade. The influence of Sir Robert Walpole, disinclined by character to every measure of violence, and seeking to conciliate the colonies by his measured forbearance, was a guaranty against its adoption. "I will leave the taxing of the British colonies"—such are the words attributed to him towards the close of his ministry, and such, certainly, were his sentiments—"for some of my successors, who may have more courage than I have, and be less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me," he added, "during my administration, to encourage the trade of the American colonies to the utmost latitude: nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe; for, by encouraging them to an extensive, growing foreign commerce, if they gain five hundred thousand pounds, I am convinced that, in two years afterwards, full two hundred and fifty thousand pounds of this gain will be in his majesty's exchequer, by the labor and produce of this kingdom, as immense quantities of every kind of our manufactures go thither; and, as they increase in the foreign American trade, more of our

produce will be wanted. This is taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and laws."

In conformity with this policy, every branch of consumption was, as far as practicable, secured to English manufacturers; every form of competition in industry, in the heart of the plantations, was discouraged or forbidden. In the land of furs, it was found that hats were well made: the London company of hatters remonstrated; and their craft was protected by an act forbidding hats to be transported from one plantation to another. The proprietors of English iron works were jealous of American industry; in 1719, the house of commons voted a clause that "none in the plantations should manufacture iron wares of any kind whatsoever;" and the house of peers added a prohibition of every "forge going by water for making bar or rod iron." The opposition of the northern colonies defeated the bill. Of the purpose, which was never abandoned, the mildly-conservative Logan plainly saw the tendency. "Some talk of an act of parliament," he observed, in 1728, "to prohibit our making bar iron, even for our own use. Scarce any thing could more effectually alienate the minds of the people in these parts, and shake their dependence upon Britain."

After the peace of Utrecht, the English continental colonies grew accustomed to an humble commerce with the islands of the French and Dutch, purchasing of them sugar, rum, and molasses, in return for provisions, horses, and lumber. The British sugar colonies, always eager for themselves to engage in contraband trade with the Spanish provinces, demanded of parliament a prohibition of all intercourse between the northern colonies and any tropical islands but the British.

In the formation of the colonial system, each European nation valued most the colonies of which the products least interfered with its own. Jealous of the industry of New England, England saw with exultation the increase of its tropical plantations. It was willing, therefore, to check the north, and to favor the south.

Hence permission was given to the planters of Carolina, and afterwards of Georgia, to ship their rice directly to any port in Europe south of Cape Finisterre. Hence special restrictions on colonial maritime enterprise; so that, when, in imitation of the French policy, the act of navigation was modified, and liberty granted for carrying sugar from the British sugar plantations directly to foreign markets, ships built and ships owned in the American plantations were excluded from the privilege. Hence, also, after two years' discussion, an act of parliament, recognizing the prosperity of "the sugar colonies in America as of the greatest consequence to the trade of England," imposed a duty of ninepence on every gallon of rum, sixpence on every gallon of molasses, and five shillings on every hundred weight of sugar, imported from foreign colonies into any of the British plantations.

Here was an act of the British parliament, to be executed by officers of royal appointment, levying a tax on consumption in America. In England, it was afterwards appealed to as a precedent; in America, the sixpence duty on molasses had all the effect of a prohibition. Even in case of forfeitures, nobody appeared to demand the third part given to the king for the colony. The act of parliament produced no revenue, and led only to clandestine importations, and appeared to be no more than a regulation of commerce, a new development of the colonial system. But here a new difficulty arose. The commercial dependence on the metropolis kept the colonies in debt to England, and created a demand for remittances; so that specie disappeared. America was left without a currency. In the hope of providing for the want, the provinces manufactured bills of credit, and instituted loan offices. The first emissions of provincial paper had their origin in the immediate necessities of government. In times of peace, provinces which had an empty treasury issued bills of credit, redeemable at a remote day, and put in circulation, by means of loans to citizens, at a low rate of

interest, on the mortgage of lands. The bills, in themselves almost worthless, from the remoteness of the day of payment, were made a lawful tender. The borrower, who received them, paid annual interest on his debt to the state; and this interest constituted a public revenue, obtained, it was boasted, without taxation. The scarcity of money was ever more and more complained of: "all the silver money was sent into Great Britain to make returns for what was owing there." Yet the system was imitated in every colony but Virginia.

In Massachusetts, a struggle ensued for a new application of the credit system, by means of a land bank. The design was long resisted as "a fraudulent undertaking," and was acknowledged as tending to give to the company "power and influence in all public concerns, more than belonged to them, more than they could make a good use of, and therefore unwarrantable;" yet, but for the interference of parliament, it would at last have been established.

The first effects of the unreal enlargement of the currency appeared beneficial; and men rejoiced in the seeming impulse given to trade. It was presently found that specie was repelled from the country by the system; that the paper furnished but a depreciated currency, fluctuating in value with every new emission; that, from the interest of debtors, there was between the colonies some rivalry in issues; that the increase of paper, far from remedying the scarcity of money, excited a thirst for new issues; that, as the party of debtors, if it prevailed in the legislature but once in ten years, could flood the country with bills of credit, men had an interest to remain in debt; that the income of widows and orphans, and all who had salaries or annuities, was ruinously affected by the fluctuations; that administrators were tempted to delay settlements of estates, as each year diminished the value of the inheritances which were to be paid; and, finally, that commerce was corrupted in its sources by the uncertainty attending the expressions of value in every contract.

This uncertainty rapidly pervaded the country. In 1738, the New England currency was worth but one hundred for five hundred; that of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, one hundred for one hundred and sixty or seventy, or two hundred; of South Carolina, one for eight; while of North Carolina—of all the states the least commercial in its character—the paper was in London esteemed worth but one for fourteen, in the colony but one for ten. And yet the policy itself was not repudiated. The statesmen of England never proposed or desired to raise the domestic currency of the colonies to an equality with that of the great commercial world; and the system which Franklin had advocated found an apologist in Pownall, and was defended by Edmund Burke, except that Burke, instead of a currency of depreciated paper, proposed an emission of base coin.

Thus the great topic of variance between England and her continental colonies of America, lay in the mercantile system and its consequences. Controversies were also occurring in every part of the country.

Did the lumberers in Maine, on any land first purchased since the grant of the new charter of Massachusetts, cut some stately pine-tree into logs for the saw-mill, the officer of the British crown came to measure its diameter, and to arraign them for a trespass in destroying a mast reserved for the English navy. The colonial legislatures hated the restriction, and parliament repeatedly interfered to extend and confirm the royal monopoly in the American forests.

The ministers of Massachusetts, by the hand of Cotton Mather, desire a synod, "to recover and establish the faith and order of the gospel:" a reprimand from England forbids "the authoritative" meeting, as a bad precedent for dissenters.

The people of Massachusetts resolutely withheld a regular salary from the governor of royal appointment, but, by its legislature, voted, each year, such a grant as his good offices might seem to merit. Burnet is in-

structed to insist on an established salary. The rustic patriots, firmly asserting every source of popular influence over the executive, scorned "to betray the great trust reposed in them by their principals." Burnet, dying, bequeathed the contest to Belcher, his successor. The general court still persevered in its stubbornness; and at last, as Belcher obtained leave of the crown to accept the annual grants, the controversy subsided, leaving victory to the strong will of Massachusetts.

At New York, the people and the governor are in collision. Cosby, imitating Andros in Massachusetts, insists on new surveys of lands and new grants, in lieu of the old. Complaint could be heard only through the press. A newspaper was established to defend the popular cause; and, in November, 1734, about a year after its establishment, its printer, John Peter Zenger, was imprisoned, on the charge of publishing false and seditious libels. The grand jury would find no bill against him, and the attorney-general filed an information. The counsel of Zenger took exceptions to the commissions of the judges, because they ran during pleasure, and because they had been granted without the consent of council. The court answered the objection by excluding those who offered it from the bar. At the trial, the publishing was confessed; but the aged Andrew Hamilton, a lawyer of Philadelphia, pleading for Zenger, justified the publication by asserting its truth. "You cannot be admitted," interrupted the chief justice, "to give the truth of a libel in evidence." "Then," said Hamilton to the jury, "we appeal to you for witnesses of the facts. The jury have a right to determine both the law and the fact, and they ought to do so." "The question before you," he added, "is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone; it is the best cause—the cause of liberty. Every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery, will bless and honor you as men who, by an impartial verdict, lay a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that to which nature and the honor

of our country have given us a right—the liberty of opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing truth.” The jury gave their verdict, “Not guilty;” the people of the colonies exulted in the victory of freedom; Hamilton received of the common council of New York the franchises of the city for “his learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind.” A patriot of the revolution esteemed this trial to have been the morning star of the American revolution. But it was not one light alone that ushered in the dawn of our independence: the stars of a whole constellation sang together for joy.

In Pennsylvania, there existed the fewest checks on the power of the people. “Popular zeal raged as high there as in any country;” “liberty and privileges were ever the cry.” And Maryland was as restless as Pennsylvania. “One perplexity had succeeded another, as waves follow waves in the sea, while the settlement had still prospered and thriven at all times since its beginning.” The result was inexplicable on the old theories of government. And Logan could not shake off distrust of the issue of the experiment.

Through the press, no one had been so active as Benjamin Franklin. “The judgment of a whole people,”—such was the sentiment of Franklin,—“if unbiased by faction, undeluded by the tricks of designing men, is infallible;” and he asserted the common rights of mankind, by illustrating “eternal truths, that cannot be shaken even with the foundations of the world.” Such was public opinion in Pennsylvania more than a century ago.

Virginia was still more in contrast with England. The eighteenth century was the age of commercial ambition; and Virginia relinquished its commerce to foreign factors, paid its taxes in tobacco, and, alone of all the colonies, alone of all civilized states, resisting the universal tendency of the age, had no debts, no banks, no bills of credit, no paper money.

Thus were the colonies forming a character of their

own. Throughout the continent, national freedom and independence were gaining vigor and maturity. They were not the offspring of deliberate forethought; they were not planted or watered by the hand of man; they grew like the lilies, which neither toil nor spin.

CHAPTER L.

ENGLAND SENDS NEGROES TO THE UNITED STATES.

BUT the population of the United States was not derived from Europe alone. Voluntary emigrations of white men were even exceeded in numbers by the importation of slaves from Africa.

A part of the creditors of England had been incorporated into a company, with the exclusive trade to the South Seas. But as Spain, having acquired the American coast in those seas, possessed a monopoly of its commerce, the grant was nugatory and worthless, unless the monopoly of Spain could be successfully invaded; and, for this end, the benefit of the assiento treaty was assigned to the South Sea company.

In 1719, the capital of the company was increased by new subscriptions of national debts; and, in the next year, it was proposed to incorporate into its stock all the national debt of England. The system resembled that of Law; but the latter was connected with a bank of issue, and became a war against specie. In England, there was no attempt, directly or indirectly, to exile specie, no increase of the circulating medium, but only an increase of stocks. The parties implicated suffered from fraud and folly; the stockjobbers—they who had parted with their certificates of the national debt for stock in the company—they who, hurried away by a blind avidity, had engaged in other “bub-

bles" — were ruined; but the country was not impoverished.

Enough of the South Sea company survived the overthrow of hopes which had no foundation but in fraud or delusion, to execute the contract for negroes, and to covet an illicit commerce with Spanish America. Cupidity grew the more earnest from having been baffled; and, at last, "ambition, avarice, distress, disappointment, and all the complicated vices that tend to render the mind of man uneasy, filled all places and all hearts in the English nation." Dreams of the conquest of Florida, with the possession of the Bahama Channel, — of the conquest of Mexico and Peru, with their real and their imagined wealth, — rose up to dazzle the minds of the restless. While the opportunity of conquest and rapine was anxiously waited for, Jamaica became the centre of an extensive smuggling trade; and slave ships, deriving their passport from the asiento treaty, were the ready instruments of contraband cupidity.

The great activity of the English slave trade does not acquire its chief interest for American history by the transient conflict to which it led. While the South Sea company satisfied but imperfectly its passion for wealth, by a monopoly of the supply of negroes for the Spanish islands and main, the African company and independent traders were still more busy in sending negroes to the colonies of England. To this eagerness, encouraged by English legislation, fostered by royal favor, and enforced for a century by every successive ministry of England, it is due, that one sixth part of the population of the United States — a moiety of those who dwell in the five states nearest the Gulf of Mexico — are descendants of Africans.

The colored men who were imported into our colonies, sometimes by way of the West Indies, and sometimes, especially for the south, directly from the Old World, were sought all along the African coast, for thirty degrees together, from Cape Blanco to Loango

St. Paul's; from the Great Desert of Sahara to the kingdom of Angola, or perhaps even to the borders of the land of the Caffres. It is not possible to relate precisely in what bay they were respectively laden, from what sunny cottages they were kidnapped, from what more direful captivity they were rescued. The traders in men have not been careful to record the lineage of their victims. They were chiefly gathered from gangs that were marched from the far interior; so that the freight of a single ship might be composed of persons of different languages, and of nations altogether strange to each other. Nor was there uniformity of complexion: of those brought to our country, some were from tribes of which the skin was of a tawny yellow.

The purchases in Africa were made, in part, of convicts punished with slavery, or mulcted in a fine, which was discharged by their sale; of debtors sold, though but rarely into foreign bondage; of children sold by their parents; of kidnapped villagers; of captives taken in war. Hence the sea-coast and the confines of hostile nations were laid waste. But the chief source of supply was from swarms of those born in a state of slavery; for the despotisms, the superstitions, and the usages of Africa, had multiplied bondage. In the upper country, on the Senegal and the Gambia, three fourths of the inhabitants were not free; and the slave's master was the absolute lord of the slave's children. The trade in slaves, whether for the caravans of the Moors or for the European ships, was chiefly supplied from the natural increase. In the healthy and fertile uplands of Western Africa, under the tropical sun, the reproductive power of the prolific race, combined with the imperfect development of its moral faculties, gave to human life, in the eye of man himself, an inferior value. Humanity did not respect itself in any of its forms, — in the individual, in the family, or in the nation. Our systems of morals will not explain the phenomenon: its cause is not to be sought in the sup-

pression of moral feeling, but rather in the condition of a branch of the human family not yet conscious of its powers, not yet fully possessed of its moral and rational life. In the state of humanity itself, in Senegambia, in Upper and Lower Guinea, the problem of the slave trade finds its solution. The habits of life of the native tribes of America rendered its establishment with them impossible. The quick maturity of life, the facility of obtaining sustenance, the nature of the negro, as influenced by a hot sun, a healthful and fertile clime, an undeveloped intelligence, and the fruitfulness of the race, explain why, from century to century, the slave ships could find a freight, and yet the population of the interior be constantly replenished.

England valued Africa as returning for her manufactures abundant laborers for her colonies, and valued it for nothing else. Africans of more than thirty years of age were rejected by the traders as too old, and few were received under fourteen. Of the whole number, not more than one third part was composed of women, and a woman past two-and-twenty was hardly deemed worth transportation. The English slave ships were laden with the youth of Africa.

Slavery, and even a change of masters, were familiar to the African; but to be conducted to the shores of the Western Ocean, to be doomed to pass its boundless deep, and enter on new toils, in an untried clime, and amidst an unknown race, was appalling to the black man. The horrors of the passage, also, corresponded with the infamy of the trade. Small vessels, of little more than two hundred tons' burden, were prepared for the traffic; for these could most easily penetrate the bays and rivers of the coast, and, quickly obtaining a lading, could soonest hurry away from the deadly air of Western Africa. In such a bark five hundred negroes and more have been stowed, exciting wonder that men could have lived, within the tropics, cribbed in so few inches of room. The inequality of force between the crew and the cargo led to the use of manacles; the

hands of the stronger men were made fast together, and the right leg of one was chained to the left of another. The avarice of the trader was a partial guaranty of the security of life, as far as it depended on him; but death hovered always over the slave ship. The negroes, as they came from the higher level to the sea-side, — poorly fed on the sad pilgrimage, sleeping at night on the damp earth without covering, and often reaching the coast at unfavorable seasons, — imbibed the seeds of disease, which confinement on board ship quickened into feverish activity. There have been examples where one half of them — it has been said, even, where two thirds of them — perished on the passage. The total loss of life on the voyage is computed to have been, on the average, fifteen, certainly full twelve and a half, in the hundred: the harbors of the West Indies proved fatal to four and a half more out of every hundred. No scene of wretchedness could surpass a crowded slave ship during a storm at sea, unless it were that same ship dismasted, or suffering from a protracted voyage and want of food, its miserable inmates tossed helplessly to and fro under the rays of a vertical sun, vainly gasping for a drop of water.

Of a direct voyage from Guinea to the coast of the United States, no journal is known to exist, though slave ships from Africa entered nearly every considerable harbor south of Newport.

In the northern provinces of English America, the few negroes were lost in the larger number of whites; and only in the lowlands of South Carolina and Virginia did they constitute a great majority of the inhabitants. But they came with the limited faculties of uncivilized man: when they met on our soil, they were as strange to one another as to their masters. Coming from places in Africa a thousand miles asunder, the negro emigrants to America brought with them no common language, no abiding usages, no worship, no nationality. They were compelled to adopt a new dialect for intercourse with each other; and broken Eng-

lish became their tongue not less among themselves than with their masters. Hence there was no unity among them, and no immediate political danger from their joint action. Once an excitement against them raged in New York, through fear of a pretended plot; but the frenzy grew out of a delusion. Sometimes the extreme harshness of taskmasters may have provoked resistance; or sometimes an African, accustomed from birth to freedom, and reduced to slavery by the chances of war, carried with him across the Atlantic the indomitable spirit of a warrior; but the instances of insurrection were insulated, and without result. Destitute of common traditions, customs, and laws, the black population existed in fragments, having no bonds of union but color and misfortune. Thus the negro slave in America was dependent on his master for civilization; he could be initiated into skill in the arts only through him; through him only could he gain a country; and, as a consequence, in the next generation, if dissatisfied with his condition, he had yet learned to love the land of his master; it was his country also.

It is not easy to conjecture how many negroes were imported into the English continental colonies. The usual estimates far exceed the truth. Climate came in aid of opinion to oppose the introduction of them. As their limited number diminished the danger from their presence, they, from the first, appear to have increased, though, owing to the inequality of the sexes, not rapidly in the first generation. Previous to the year 1740, there may have been introduced into our country nearly one hundred and thirty thousand; before 1776, a few more than three hundred thousand. In 1727, "the vast importation of negroes" was a subject of complaint in South Carolina. The German traveller Von Reck, in 1734, reported the number of negroes in that province at thirty thousand, and for the annual importation gave the greatly exaggerated estimate of nearly three thousand.

In the Northern and the Middle States, the negro

was employed for menial offices and in the culture of wheat and maize. Almost all the tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia, all the indigo and rice of Carolina, were the fruit of his toils. Instead of remaining in a wild and unproductive servitude, his labor contributed to the wealth of nations, — his destiny, from its influence on commerce, excited interest throughout the civilized world.

With new powers of production, the negro learned new wants, which were at least partially supplied. At the north, he dwelt under the roof of his master; his physical well-being was provided for, and opinion protected him against cruelty. At the south, his home was a rude cabin of his own, constructed of logs or slabs, — to him, but for the abundance of fuel, a feeble protection against winter. The early writers tell us little of his history, except the crops which he raised.

The physical constitution of the negro decided his home in the New World: he loved the sun; even the climate of Virginia was too chill for him. His labor, therefore, increased in value as he proceeded south; and hence the relation of master and slave came to be essentially a southern institution: to the southern colonies, mainly, Providence intrusted the guardianship and the education of the colored race.

The concurrent testimony of tradition represents the negroes, at their arrival, to have been gross and stupid, having memory and physical strength, but undisciplined in the exercise of reason and imagination. Their organization seemed analogous to their barbarism. But, at the end of a generation, all observers affirmed the marked progress of the negro American. In the midst of the horrors of slavery and the slave trade, the masters had, in part at least, performed the office of advancing and civilizing the negro.

The thought of general emancipation early presented itself. Massachusetts, where the first planters assumed to themselves "a right to treat the Indians on the foot of Canaanites or Amalekites," always opposed the in-

troduction of slaves from abroad; and, in 1701, the town of Boston instructed its representatives "to put a period to negroes' being slaves." In 1712, to a general petition for the emancipation of negro slaves by law, the legislature of Pennsylvania answered, that "it was neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty;" and yet George Keith, the early abolitionist, was followed by the eccentric Benjamin Lay, by Ralph Sandiford, — who held slavery to be inconsistent alike with the rights of man and the principles of Christianity, — and, at a later day, by the amiable enthusiast Anthony Benezet.

But did not Christianity enfranchise its converts? The Christian world of that day almost universally revered in Christ the impersonation of the divine wisdom. Could an intelligent being, who, through the Mediator, had participated in the Spirit of God, and, by his own inward experience, had become conscious of a Supreme Existence, and of relations between that Existence and humanity, be rightfully held in bondage? From New England to Carolina, the "notion" prevailed, that "being baptized is inconsistent with a state of slavery;" and this early apprehension proved a main obstacle to the culture and "conversion of these poor people." The sentiment was so deep and so general, that South Carolina in 1712, Maryland in 1715, Virginia repeatedly from 1667 to 1748, gave a negative to it by special enactments. The lawyers, also, declared the fear groundless; and "the opinion of his majesty's attorney and solicitor-general, Yorke and Talbot, signed with their own hands, was accordingly printed in Rhode Island, and dispersed through the plantations." "I heartily wish," adds Berkeley, "it may produce the intended effect;" and, at the same time, he rebuked "the irrational contempt of the blacks," which regarded them "as creatures of another species, having no right to be instructed." In like manner, Gibson, the bishop of London, declared that "Christianity and the embracing of the

gospel does not make the least alteration in civil property;" while he besought the masters to regard the negroes "not barely as slaves, but as men-slaves and women-slaves, having the same frame and faculties with themselves."

But for the difference of color, the question of emancipation would at once have been decided in the affirmative. There is not, in all the colonial legislation of America, one single law which recognizes the rightfulness of slavery in the abstract. Every province favored freedom as such. The real question at issue was, from the first, not one of slavery and freedom generally, but of the relations to each other of the Ethiopian and American races.

Our country might well have shrunk from assuming the guardianship of the negro. Hence the question of tolerating the slave trade and the question of abolishing slavery rested on different grounds. The one related to a refusal of a trust; the other, to the manner of its exercise. The English continental colonies, in the aggregate, were always opposed to the African slave trade. Maryland, Virginia, even Carolina, — alarmed at the excessive production and the consequent low price of their staples, at the heavy debts incurred by the purchase of slaves on credit, and at the dangerous increase of the colored population, — each showed an anxious preference for the introduction of white men; and laws designed to restrict importations of slaves, are scattered copiously along the records of colonial legislation. The first continental congress which took to itself powers of legislation, gave a legal expression to the well-formed opinion of the country, by resolving "that no slaves be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies."

Before America legislated for herself, the interdict of the slave trade was impossible. England was inexorable in maintaining the system, which gained new and stronger supporters by its excess. The English slave trade began to attain its great activity after the

assiento treaty. From 1680 to 1700, the English took from Africa about three hundred thousand negroes, or about fifteen thousand a year. The number, during the continuance of the *assiento*, may have averaged not far from thirty thousand. Raynal considers the number of negroes exported by all European nations from Africa before 1776, to have been nine millions; and the considerate German historian of the slave trade, Albert Hüne, deems his statement too small. A careful analysis of the colored population in America at different periods, and the inferences to be deduced from the few authentic records of the numbers imported, corrected by a comparison with the commercial products of slave labor, as appearing in the annals of English commerce, seem to prove, beyond a doubt, that even the estimate of Raynal is larger than the reality. We shall not err very much, if, for the century previous to the prohibition of the slave trade by the American congress, in 1776, we assume the number imported by the English into the Spanish, French, and English West Indies, as well as the English continental colonies, to have been, collectively, nearly three millions; to which are to be added more than a quarter of a million purchased in Africa, and thrown into the Atlantic on the passage. The gross returns to English merchants, for the whole traffic in that number of slaves, may have been not far from four hundred millions of dollars. Yet, as at least one half of the negroes exported from Africa to America were carried in English ships, it should be observed that this estimate is by far the lowest ever made by any inquirer into the statistics of human wickedness. After every deduction, the trade retains its gigantic character of crime.

In an age when the interests of trade guided legislation, this branch of commerce possessed paramount attractions. English ships, fitted out in English cities, under the special favor of the royal family, of the ministry, and of parliament, stole from Africa, in the years from 1700 to 1750, probably a million and a half of

souls, of whom one eighth were buried in the Atlantic, victims of the passage; and yet in England no public opinion lifted its voice against the traffic; no statesman rebuked its enormities; the philosophy of that day furnished to the African no protection against oppression; and the interpretation of English common law was equally regardless of human freedom. The colonial negro, who sailed to the metropolis, found no benefit from touching the soil of England, but returned a slave. Such was the approved law of Virginia in the first half of the last century; such was the opinion of Yorke and Talbot, the law officers of the crown, as expressed in 1729, and, after a lapse of twenty years, repeated and confirmed by one of the same authorities, as chancellor of England.

The influence of the manufacturers was still worse. They clamored for the protection of a trade which opened to them an African market. Thus the party of the slave trade dictated laws to England. A resolve of the commons, in the days of William and Mary, proposed to lay open the trade in negroes, "for the better supply of the plantations;" and the statute book of England soon declared the opinion of its king and its parliament, that "the trade is highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom and the colonies." In 1708, a committee of the house of commons report that "the trade is important, and ought to be free;" in 1711, a committee once more report that "the plantations ought to be supplied with negroes at reasonable rates," and recommend an increase of the trade. In June, 1712, Queen Anne, in her speech to parliament, boasts of her success in securing to Englishmen a new market for slaves in Spanish America. In 1729, George II. recommended a provision, at the national expense, for the African forts; and the recommendation was followed. At last, in 1749, to give the highest activity to the trade, every obstruction to private enterprise was removed, and the ports of Africa were laid open to English competition; for "the slave trade" — such are the words of the statute — "the slave trade is

very advantageous to Great Britain." "The British senate," wrote one of its members, in February, 1750, "have this fortnight been pondering methods to make more effectual that horrid traffic of selling negroes. It has appeared to us that six-and-forty thousand of these wretches are sold every year to our plantations alone."

But, while the partial monopoly of the African company was broken down, and the commerce in men was opened to the competition of Englishmen, the monopoly of British subjects was rigidly enforced against foreigners. That Englishmen alone might monopolize all wealth to be derived from the trade, Holt and Pollexfen, and eight other judges, in pursuance of an order in council, had given their opinion "that negroes are merchandise," and that therefore the act of navigation was to be extended to the English trade in them, to the exclusion of aliens.

The same policy was manifested in the relations between the English crown and the colonies. Land from the public domain was given to emigrants, in one West India colony, at least, on condition that the resident owner would "keep four negroes for every hundred acres." The eighteenth century was, as it were, ushered in by the royal instruction of Queen Anne to the governor of New York and New Jersey, "to give due encouragement to merchants, and in particular to the royal African company of England." That a similar instruction was given generally, is evident from the apology of Spotswood for the small importations of slaves into Virginia. In that commonwealth, the planters beheld with dismay the increase of negroes. A tax checks their importation; and, in 1726, Hugh Drysdale, the deputy-governor, announces to the house that "the interfering interest of the African company has obtained the repeal of that law." Long afterwards, a statesman of Virginia, in full view of the course of colonial legislation and English counteracting authority, unbiased by hostility to England, bore true testimony that "the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put

a stop to this infernal traffic." On whatever ground Virginia opposed the trade, the censure was just.

The white man, emigrating, became a dangerous free-man: it was quite sure that the negroes of that century would never profess republicanism; their presence in the colonies increased dependence. This reasoning was avowed by "a British merchant," in 1745, in a political tract, entitled "The African Slave Trade the great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in America." "Were it possible for white men to answer the end of negroes in planting," it is there contended, "our colonies would interfere with the manufactures of these kingdoms. In such case, indeed, we might have just reason to dread the prosperity of our colonies; but while we can supply them abundantly with negroes, we need be under no such apprehensions." "Negro labor will keep our British colonies in a due subserviency to the interest of their mother country; for, while our plantations depend only on planting by negroes, our colonies can never prove injurious to British manufactures, never become independent of their kingdom." This policy of England knew no relenting. "My friends and I," wrote Oglethorpe, "settled the colony of Georgia, and by charter were established trustees. We determined not to suffer slavery there; but the slave merchants and their adherents not only occasioned us much trouble, but at last got the government to sanction them." South Carolina, in 1760, from prudential motives, attempted restrictions, and gained only a rebuke from the English ministry. Great Britain, steadily rejecting every colonial restriction on the slave trade, instructed the governors, on pain of removal, not to give even a temporary assent to such laws; and, but a year before the prohibition of the slave trade by the American congress, in 1776, the earl of Dartmouth illustrated the tendency of the colonies and the policy of England, by addressing to a colonial agent these memorable words: — "We cannot allow the colonies to check, or discourage in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation."

Yet there was one region, in the south of our republic, from which it was designed to exclude the African. In 1717, a proposal was brought forward to plant a new colony south of Carolina, in the region that was heralded as the most delightful country of the universe. The land was to be tilled by British and Irish laborers, exclusively, without "the dangerous help of blackamoors." Three years afterwards, in the excited season of English stock-jobbing and English anticipations, the suggestion was revived. When Carolina became, by purchase, a royal province, Johnson, its governor, was directed to mark out townships as far south as the Alatomaha; and, in 1731, a site was chosen for a colony of Swiss in the ancient land of the Yamassees, but on the left bank of the Savannah. The country between the two rivers was still a wilderness, over which England held only a nominal jurisdiction, when the spirit of benevolence formed a partnership with the selfish passion for extended territory, and, heedless of the objection that "the colonies would grow too great" for England, "and throw off their dependency," resolved to plant the sunny clime with the children of misfortune,—with those who in England had neither land nor shelter, and those on the continent to whom, as Protestants, bigotry denied freedom of worship and a home.

In the days when protection of property was avowed to be the end of government, the gallows was set up as the penalty for a petty theft; and each year, in Great Britain, at least four thousand unhappy men were immured in prison for the misfortune of poverty. A small debt exposed to a perpetuity of imprisonment; one indiscreet contract doomed the miserable dupe to life-long confinement. The subject won the attention of James Oglethorpe, a member of the British parliament; a man of an heroic mind and a merciful disposition; hardly thirty years of age, and yet full of experience; who had been disciplined alike in the schools of learning and action; an hereditary loyalist; in his boyhood commissioned during the power of Bolingbroke; a pupil of the univer-

sity of Oxford; a volunteer in the family of Prince Eugene; present at the siege of Belgrade, and in the brilliant campaign against the Turks on the Danube. To him, in the annals of legislative philanthropy, the honor is due of having first resolved to redress the griefs that had so long been immured and locked up from the public gaze, — to lighten the lot of debtors. Touched with the sorrows which the walls of a prison could not hide from his merciful eye, he searched into the gloomy horrors of jails,

“Where sickness pines, where thirst and hunger burn,
And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice.”

In 1728, he invoked the interference of the English parliament; and, as a commissioner for inquiring into the state of the jails of the kingdom, his benevolent zeal persevered, till, “from extreme misery, he restored to light and freedom multitudes, who, by long confinement for debt, were strangers and helpless in the country of their birth.” He did more. For them, and for persecuted Protestants, he planned an asylum and a new destiny in America, where former poverty would be no reproach, and where the simplicity of piety could indulge the spirit of devotion, without fear of persecution from men who hated the rebuke of its example.

It was not difficult for Oglethorpe to find associates in his disinterested purpose. To further this end, a charter from George II., dated the ninth day of June, 1732, erected the country between the Savannah and the Alatamaha, and from the head-springs of those rivers due west to the Pacific, into the province of Georgia, and placed it, for twenty-one years, under the guardianship of a corporation, “in trust for the poor.” All executive and legislative power, and the institution of courts, were, for twenty-one years, given exclusively to the trustees, or their common council, who were appointed during good behavior. The trustees,

men of benevolence and of leisure, ignorant of the value or the nature of popular power, held these grants to contain but "proper powers for establishing and governing the colony." The land, open to Jews, was closed against "Papists." At the head of the council stood Shaftesbury, the antagonist of Locke; but its most celebrated member was Oglethorpe. So illustrious were the auspices of the design, that hope at once painted brilliant visions of an Eden that was to spring up to reward the ardor of such disinterested benevolence. The kindly sun of the new colony was to look down on the abundance of purple vintages, and the silkworm yield its thread to enrich the British merchant, and employ the British looms. The benevolence of England was aroused; the charities of an opulent and an enlightened nation were to be concentrated on the new plantation; individual zeal was kindled in its favor; the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts sought to promote its interests; and parliament showed its good will by at once contributing ten thousand pounds.

The common seal of the corporation, having on one side a group of silkworms at their toils, with the motto, *Non sibi, sed aliis*, — Not for themselves, but for others, — expressed the disinterested purpose of the patrons, who, by their own request, were restrained from receiving any grants of lands, or any emolument whatever. On the other side of the seal, the device represented two figures reposing on urns, emblematic of the boundary rivers, having between them the genius of "Georgia Augusta," with a cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, the horn of plenty in the other. The cap of liberty was, for a time at least, an emblem, that, south of the Savannah River, "slavery was absolutely proscribed."

CHAPTER LI.

COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA. WAR WITH SPAIN.

BUT, while others gave to the design their leisure, their prayers, or their wealth, Oglethorpe, heedless of danger, devoted himself to its fulfilment. In November, 1732, embarking with about one hundred and twenty emigrants, he began the voyage to America, and in fifty-seven days arrived off the bar of Charleston. Accepting a hasty welcome, he sailed directly for Port Royal. While the colony was landing at Beaufort, its patron ascended the boundary river of Georgia, and chose for the site of his chief town the high bluff on which Savannah now stands. At the distance of a half mile dwelt the Yamacraws, a branch of the Muskogees, who, with Tomo-chichi, their chieftain, sought security by an alliance with the English. "Here is a little present," said the red man, as he offered a buffalo skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. "The feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo skin is warm, and is the emblem of protection. Therefore love and protect our little families." On the first day of February, or, according to the new style of computation, on the twelfth, the colonists, on board of a small sloop and periaguas, arrived at the place intended for the town, and before evening encamped on shore near the edge of the river. Four beautiful pines protected the tent of Oglethorpe, who, for near a twelvemonth, sought no other shelter. In the midst of the pleasant region, the streets of Savannah were laid out with greatest regularity; in each quarter a public square was reserved; the houses were planned and constructed on one model — each a frame of sawed timber, twenty-four feet by sixteen, floored with rough deals, the sides with feather-edged boards unplanned, and the roof shingled. Such a house Ogle-

thorpe afterwards hired as his residence, when in Savannah. Ere long a walk, cut through the native woods, led to the large garden on the river side, destined as a nursery of European fruit and of the wonderful products of America. Thus began the commonwealth of Georgia. The humane reformer of prison discipline was already the father of a state, "the place of refuge for the distressed people of Britain and the persecuted Protestants of Europe."

The fame of the hero penetrated the wilderness; and, in May, the chief men of the eight towns of the Lower Muskogees, accepting his invitation, came down to make an alliance. Long King, the tall and aged civil chief of the Oconas, spoke for them all. Claiming the country south of the Savannah, he bade the strangers welcome to the lands which his nation did not use; and, in token of sincerity, he laid eight bundles of buckskins at Oglethorpe's feet. On the first of June, a treaty of peace was signed, by which the English claimed sovereignty over the land of the Creeks as far south as the St. John's; and the chieftains departed laden with presents.

A Cherokee appeared among the English. "Fear nothing," said Oglethorpe, "but speak freely;" and the mountaineer answered, "I always speak freely. Why should I fear? I am now among friends; I never feared even among my enemies." And friendly relations were cherished with the Cherokees. In the following year, Red Shoes, a Chocta chief, proposed commerce. "We came a great way," said he, "and we are a great nation. The French are building forts about us, against our liking. We have long traded with them, but they are poor in goods; we desire that a trade may be opened between us and you." And when commerce with them was begun, the English coveted the harbors on the Gulf of Mexico.

The good faith of Oglethorpe in the offers of peace, his noble mien and sweetness of temper, conciliated the confidence of the red men; he, in his turn, was pleased

with their simplicity, and sought for means to clear the glimmering ray of their minds, to guide their bewildered reason, and teach them to know the God whom they ignorantly adored.

While the neighboring province of South Carolina displayed "a universal zeal for assisting its new ally and bulwark," the persecuted Protestants known to us as Moravians heard the message of hope, and, on the invitation of the Society in England for propagating the Gospel, prepared to emigrate to the Savannah. A free passage; provisions in Georgia for a whole season; land for themselves and their children, free for ten years, then to be held for a small quitrent; the privileges of native Englishmen; freedom of worship;—these were the promises made, accepted, and honorably fulfilled. On the last day of October, 1733, "the evangelical community,"—well supplied with Bibles and hymn-books, catechisms, and books of devotion,—conveying in one wagon their few chattels, in two other covered ones their feebler companions, and especially their little ones,—after a discourse, and prayer, and benedictions,—cheerfully, and in the name of God, began their pilgrimage. History need not stop to tell what charities cheered them on their journey, what towns were closed against them by Roman Catholic magistrates, or how they entered Frankfort on the Maine, two by two, in solemn procession, singing spiritual songs. As they floated down the Maine, and between the castled crags, the vineyards, and the white-walled towns that adorn the banks of the Rhine, their conversation, amidst hymns and prayers, was of justification, and of sanctification, and of standing fast in the Lord. At Rotterdam, they were joined by two preachers, Bolzius and Gronau, both disciplined in charity at the Orphan House in Halle. A passage of six days carried them from Rotterdam to Dover, where several of the trustees visited them, and provided considerably for their wants. In January, 1734, they set sail for their new homes. The majesty of the ocean

quicken'd their sense of God's omnipotence and wisdom; and, as they lost sight of land, they broke out into a hymn to his glory. The setting sun, after a calm, so kindled the sea and the sky, that words could not express their rapture; and they cried out, "How lovely the creation! How infinitely lovely the Creator!" When the wind was adverse, they prayed; and, as it changed, one opened his mind to the other on the power of prayer, even the prayer "of a man subject to like passions as we are." As the voyage excited weariness, a devout listener confessed himself to be an unconverted man; and they reminded him of the promise to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at the word. As they sailed pleasantly, with a favoring breeze, at the hour of evening prayer, they made a covenant with each other, like Jacob of old, and resolved, by the grace of Christ, to cast all the strange gods which were in their hearts into the depths of the sea. A storm grew so high that not a sail could be set; and they raised their voices in prayer and song amidst the tempest; for to love the Lord Jesus as a brother gave consolation. At Charleston, Oglethorpe bade them welcome; and, in five days more, the way-faring men, whose home was beyond the skies, pitched their tents near Savannah.

It remained to select for them a residence. To cheer their principal men, as they toiled through the forest and across brooks, Oglethorpe, having provided horses, himself joined the little party. By the aid of blazed trees and Indian guides, he made his way through morasses; a fallen tree served as a bridge over a stream, which the horses swam, for want of a ford; at night, he encamped with them abroad round a fire, and shared every fatigue, till the spot for their village was chosen, and, like the little stream which formed its border, was named Ebenezer. There they built their dwellings, and there they resolved to raise a column of stone, in token of gratitude to God, whose providence had brought them safely to the ends of the earth.

In the same year, the town of Augusta was laid out, soon to become the favorite resort of Indian traders. The good success of Oglethorpe made the colony increase rapidly by volunteer emigrants. "His undertaking will succeed," said Johnson, the governor of South Carolina; "for he nobly devotes all his powers to serve the poor, and rescue them from their wretchedness." "He bears a great love to the servants and children of God," wrote the pastor of Ebenezer. "He has taken care of us to the utmost of his ability." "God has so blessed his presence and his regulations in the land, that others would not in many years have accomplished what he has brought about in one."

At length, in April, 1734, after a residence in America of about fifteen months, Oglethorpe sailed for England, taking with him Tomo-chichi and others of the Creeks, to do homage at court, and to invigorate the confidence of England in the destiny of the new colony, which was shown to possess the friendship of the surrounding Indian nations.

His absence left Georgia to its own development and to discontent. For its franchises it had only the system of juries; and legislation by its own representatives was not begun.

Deceived by reasonings from the system of feudal law, and by their own prejudices as members of the landed aristocracy of England, the trustees had granted lands only in tail male. Here was a grievance that soon occasioned a just discontent. A regulation prohibiting ardent spirits, led only to clandestine traffic. On the rule which forbade the introduction of slaves, the colony was divided in opinion; after a little more than two years, several of those who esteemed themselves "the better sort of people in Savannah" addressed a petition to the trustees "for the use of negroes."

During his stay in England, Oglethorpe won universal favor for his colony, the youngest child of the colonial enterprise of England. Parliament continued its benefactions; the king expressed interest in a province

which bore his name. While the jealousy of the maritime powers on the continent was excited, new emigrants continued to be sent from England. The voice of mercy reached the Highlands of Scotland; and a company of Gaelic mountaineers, as brave as the bravest warriors of the Creek nation, some of them kindred to the loyalists who fell victims to their fidelity to the Stuarts, embarked for America, and established New Inverness, in Darien,

“Where wild Altama murmured to their woe”

In February, 1736, a new company of three hundred emigrants, conducted by Oglethorpe himself, whose care of them during the voyage proved him as considerate as he was brave, ascended a rising ground, not far from Tybee Island, “where they all knelt and returned thanks to God for having safely arrived in Georgia.” Among that group was a reënforcement of Moravians — men who had a faith above fear; “whose wives and children even were not afraid to die;” whose simplicity and solemnity, in their conferences and prayers, seemed to revive the primitive “assemblies, where form and state were not, but Paul, the tent-maker, or Peter, the fisherman, presided with the demonstration of the Spirit.” There, too, were John and Charles Wesley, — the latter selected as the secretary to Oglethorpe, the former eager to become an apostle to the Indians, — fervent enthusiasts, “whose end in leaving their native country was not to gain riches and honor, but singly this — to live wholly to the glory of God.” Residing in America less than two years, they neither desired nor exercised influence in moulding the political institutions of Georgia. When afterwards George Whitefield came, his intrepid nature did not lose its cheerfulness in the encounter with the wilderness; his eager benevolence, led by the example of the Moravians and the fame of the Orphan House at Halle, founded and sustained an orphan house at Savannah by contributions which his eloquence extorted. He became more

nearly identified with America, visited all the provinces from Florida to the northern frontier, and made his grave in New England; but he, also, swayed no legislatures, and is chiefly remembered for his fervor and his power of melting the multitude.

At once, Oglethorpe visited the Moravians at Ebenezer, to praise their good husbandry, and to select the site of their new settlement—of which the lines were no sooner drawn, and the streets laid out by an engineer, than huts covered with bark rose up as a shelter, and the labors of the field were renewed. In a few years, the produce of raw silk by the Germans amounted to ten thousand pounds a year; and indigo also became a staple. In earnest memorials, they long deprecated the employment of negro slaves, pleading the ability of the white man to toil even under the suns of Georgia. Their religious affections bound them together in the unity of brotherhood; their controversies were decided among themselves; every event of life had its moral; and the fervor of their worship never disturbed their healthy tranquillity of judgment. They were cheerful, and at peace.

From the Moravian towns Oglethorpe hastened to the southward, passing in a scout boat through the narrow inland channels, which delighted the eye by their clear sea-green color and stillness, and were sheltered by woods of pines, and evergreen oaks, and cedars, that grew close to the water's side. On the second day, aided by the zeal of his own men, and by Indians skilful in using the oar, he arrived at St. Simon's Island. A fire, kindling the long grass on an old Indian field, cleared a space for the streets of Frederica; and, amidst the carols of the great numbers of the red and the mocking bird, and the noisy mirth of the rice bird, a fort was constructed on the centre of the bluff, with four bastions, commanding the river, and protecting the palmetto cabins, which, appearing like a camp, with bowers instead of tents, and smooth leaves, of a pleasing color, for canvass,

each twenty feet by fourteen, were set up on forks and poles in regular rows—a tight and convenient shelter for the emigrants.

It was but ten miles from Frederica to the Scottish settlement at Darien. To give heart to them by his presence, Oglethorpe, in the Highland costume, sailed up the Alatomaha; and all the Highlanders, as they perceived his approach, assembled, with their plaids, broadswords, targets, and fire-arms, to bid him welcome.

It remained to vindicate the boundaries of Georgia. The messenger who, in February, had been despatched to St. Augustine, had not returned. Oglethorpe resolved himself to sustain the pretensions of Great Britain to the territory as far south as the St. John's, and the Highlanders volunteered their service. With their aid, he explored the channels south of Frederica; and on the island to which Tomo-chichi gave the name of Cumberland, he marked out a fort to be called St. Andrew's. But Oglethorpe still pressed forward to the south. Passing Amelia Island, and claiming the St. John's River as the southern boundary of the territory possessed by the Indian subjects of England at the time of the treaty at Utrecht, on the southern extremity of the island at the entrance of that stream,—where myrtles and palmettoes abounded, and wild grape-vines, climbing to the summit of trees, formed as beautiful walks as art could have designed,—he planted the Fort St. George, as the defence of the British frontier.

Indignant at the near approach of the English, the Spaniards of Florida threatened opposition. The messengers of Oglethorpe were detained as prisoners, and he resolved to claim their liberty. The rumors of his intended expedition had reached the wilderness; and, in May, the Uchees, all brilliantly painted, came down to form an alliance, and to grasp the hatchet. Long speeches and the exchange of presents were followed by the war-dance. Tomo-chichi appeared, also, with his warriors, ever ready to hunt the buffalo along the

frontiers of Florida, or to engage in warfare with the few planters on the peninsula; and an embarkation was made for the purpose of regulating the southern boundary of the British colonies.

But, for that season, active hostilities were avoided by negotiation. The Spaniards did, indeed, claim peremptorily the whole country as far as St. Helena's Sound; but the English envoys at St. Augustine were set free; and, if the English post on St. George was abandoned, St. Andrew's, commanding the approach to the St. Mary's, was maintained. Hence the St. Mary's ultimately became the boundary of the colony of Oglethorpe.

The friendship of the red men insured the safety of the English settlements. The Chickasas, animated by their victory over the Illinois and D'Artaguettes, in July, 1736, came down to narrate how unexpectedly they had been attacked, how victoriously they had resisted, with what exultations they had consumed their prisoners by fire. Ever attached to the English, they now sent their deputation of thirty warriors, with their civil sachem and war chief, to make an alliance with Oglethorpe, whose fame had reached the Mississippi. They brought for him an Indian chaplet, made from the spoils of their enemies, glittering with feathers of many hues, and enriched with the horns of buffaloes. Thus the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Chickasas, were his unwavering friends, and even the Choctas had covenanted with him to receive English traders. To hasten preparations for the impending contest with Spain, Oglethorpe, in November, 1736, embarked for England. He could report to the trustees, "that the colony was doing well; that Indians from seven hundred miles' distance had confederated with him, and acknowledged the authority of his sovereign."

Receiving a commission as brigadier-general, with a military command extending over South Carolina, Oglethorpe himself, in Great Britain, raised and disciplined a regiment; and, after an absence of more than a year and a half, in September, 1738, he returned to Frederica. There, by the industry of his soldiers, the walls of the

fortress were completed. Their ivy-mantled ruins are still standing; and the village, now almost a deserted one, in the season of its greatest prosperity is said to have contained a thousand men.

At Savannah, he was welcomed by salutes and bonfires. But he refused any alteration in the titles of land. The request for the allowance of slaves he rejected sternly, declaring that, if negroes should be introduced into Georgia, "he would have no further concern with the colony;" and he used his nearly arbitrary power, as the civil and military head of the state, the founder and delegated legislator of Georgia, to interdict negro slavery. The trustees applauded this decision, and, notwithstanding "repeated applications," "persisted in denying the use of negroes," — even though many of the planters, believing success impossible with "white servants," prepared to desert the colony.

The openness and fidelity of Oglethorpe preserved the affection of the natives. Muskogeese and Chickasas came round him once more, to renew their covenants of friendship. The former had, from the first, regarded him as their father; and, as he had made some progress in their language, they appealed to him directly in every emergency.

Nor was this all. In the summer of 1739, the civil and war chiefs of the Muskogeese held a general council in Cowetas, and adjourned it to Cusitas, on the Chattahoochee; and Oglethorpe, making his way through solitary paths, fearless of the suns of summer, the night dews, or the treachery of some hireling Indian, came also into the large square of their council-place, to distribute presents to his red friends; to renew and explain their covenants; to address them in words of affection; to drink with the Creek warriors the sacred *safkey*, and smoke with their nations the pipe of peace. It was then agreed, that the ancient love of the tribes to the British king should remain unimpaired; that the lands from the St. John's to the Savannah, between the sea and the mountains, belonged, of ancient right, to the Muskhoe-

gees. Their cession to the English of the land on the Savannah, as far as the Ogeechee, and along the coast to the St. John's, as far into the interior as the tide flows, was, with a few reservations, confirmed; and the entrance to the rest of their domains was barred forever against the Spaniards. The right of preëmption was reserved for the trustees of Georgia alone; nor might they enlarge their possessions, except with the consent of the ancient proprietaries of the soil.

The news of this treaty could not have reached England before the negotiations with Spain were abruptly terminated. Walpole desired peace; he pleaded for it in the name of national honor, of justice, and of the true interests of commerce. But the active English mind, debauched by the hopes of sudden gains, had become soured by disappointment, and was now resolved on illicit commerce, or on plunder and conquest. A war was desired, not because England insisted on cutting log-wood in the Bay of Honduras, where Spain claimed a jurisdiction, and had founded no settlements; nor because the South Sea company differed with the king of Spain as to the balances of their accounts; nor yet because the boundary between Carolina and Florida was still in dispute; — these differences could all have been adjusted; — but because English “merchants were not permitted to smuggle with impunity.”

In an ill hour for herself, in a happy one for America, England declared war against Spain. To acquire possession of the richest portions of Spanish America, Anson was sent, with a small squadron, into the Pacific; but disasters at sea compelled him to renounce the hope of conquest, and seek only booty.

In November, 1739, Edward Vernon, with six men-of-war, appeared off Porto Bello. The attack on the feeble and ill-supplied garrison began on the twenty-first; and, on the next day, losing but seven men, he was in possession of the town and the castles. Vernon belonged to the opposition; and the enemies of Walpole exalted his praises, till his heroism was made a proverb, his birthday

signalized by lights and bonfires, and his head selected as the favorite ornament for signposts. Meantime he took and demolished Fort Chagre, on this side of the Isthmus of Darien; but without result; for the gales near Cape Horn had prevented the coöperation of Anson at Panama.

The victory, in its effects, was sad for the northern colonies. England prepared to send to the West Indies by far the largest fleet and army that had ever appeared in the Gulf of Mexico, and summoned the colonies north of Carolina to contribute four battalions to the armament. No colony refused its quota; even Pennsylvania voted a contribution of money, and thus enabled its governor to enlist troops for the occasion. The expedition from England reached Jamaica in the early part of 1741. Near the end of January, with a fleet of twenty-nine ships of the line, beside about eighty smaller vessels, with fifteen thousand sailors, with twelve thousand land forces, equipped with all sorts of warlike instruments, and every kind of convenience, Vernon weighed anchor, and, after vainly searching for the fleet of the French and Spaniards, he resolved to attack Carthagena, the strongest place in Spanish America. During the siege, the fever of the low country in the tropics began its rapid work; men perished in crowds; the dead were cast into the sea, sometimes without winding-sheet or sinkers; the hospital ships were crowded with miserable sufferers. In two days, the effective force on land dwindled from six thousand six hundred to three thousand two hundred. The English could only demolish the fortifications and retire.

In July, an attack on Santiago, in Cuba, was meditated, and abandoned almost as soon as attempted.

Such were the fruits of an expedition which was to have prepared the way for conquering Mexico and Peru. Of the recruits from the colonies, nine out of ten fell victims to the climate and the service. When the fleet returned to Jamaica, late in November, 1741, the entire loss of lives is estimated to have been about twenty thou-

sand, of whom few fell by the enemy. England had made no acquisitions, and had inflicted on the Spanish West Indies far less evil than she herself had suffered.

The disasters in the West Indies prevented the conquest of Florida. Having, in September, 1739, received instructions from England of the approaching war with Spain, Oglethorpe hastened, before the close of the year, to extend the boundaries of Georgia once more to the St. John's, and immediately, in December, urged upon the province of South Carolina the reduction of the Spaniards at St. Augustine. "As soon as the sea is free," he adds, "they will send a large body of troops from Cuba." His own intrepidity would brook no delay, and, in the first week of 1740, he entered Florida.

In March, Oglethorpe hurried to Charleston, to encourage the zeal of South Carolina; but the forces, which that province voted in April, were not ready till May; and when, on the second of June, the expedition, composed of six hundred regular troops, four hundred militia from Carolina, beside Indian auxiliaries, who were soon reduced to two hundred, advanced to the walls of St. Augustine, the garrison, commanded by Monteano, a man of courage and energy, had already received supplies. A vigorous sally was successful against a detached party, chiefly of Highlanders, at Fort Moosa. Yet, for nearly five weeks, Oglethorpe endeavored, in defiance of his own weakness and the strength of the place, to devise measures for victory, till "the Carolina troops, enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies." The small naval force also resolved, in council, "to take off all their men, and sail away," and thus "put an end to the enterprise." Oglethorpe returned without molestation to Frederica.

The English still asserted their superiority on the southern frontier. St. Augustine had not fallen; the Spaniards had not been driven from Florida; but Ogle-

thorpe maintained the extended limits of Georgia; his Indian alliances gave him the superiority in the wilderness as far as the land of the Choctas.

At last, in 1742, to make good its pretensions, the Spanish government resolved on invading Georgia. It collected its forces from Cuba, and a large fleet, with an armament, of which the force has been greatly exaggerated, sailed towards the mouth of the St. Mary's. Fort William, which Oglethorpe had constructed at the southern extremity of Cumberland Island, defended the entrance successfully, till, fighting his way through Spanish vessels, which endeavored to intercept him, the general himself reënforced it. Then, promptly returning to St. Simon's, having no aid from Carolina, with less than a thousand men, he prepared for defence. "We are resolved not to suffer defeat;" — such was his cheering message to Savannah; — "we will rather die, like Leonidas and his Spartans, if we can but protect Carolina and the rest of the Americans from desolation." And, going on board one of the little vessels that chanced to be at hand, he called on the seamen to stand by their liberties and country. "For myself," he added, "I am prepared for all dangers. I know the enemy are far more numerous than we; but I rely on the valor of our men, and, with the aid of God, I do not doubt we shall be victorious."

On the fifth of July, seven days after it first came to anchor off Simon's Bar, the Spanish fleet of thirty-six vessels, with the tide of flood and a brisk gale, entered St. Simon's Harbor, and succeeded in passing the English batteries on the southern point of the island. The general signaled his ships to run up to Frederica, and, spiking the guns of the lower fort, withdrew to the town, while the Spaniards landed at Gascoin's Bluff, and took possession of the camps which the English had abandoned. But, in constructing the road to Frederica, Oglethorpe had left a morass on the one side, and a dense oak wood on the other. On the seventh, a party of Spaniards advance; they are within a mile of the

town; they are met by Oglethorpe himself, with the Highland company, are overcome, pursued, and most of the party killed or taken prisoners. A second party of the Spaniards march to the assault; they come to a place where the narrow avenue, bending with the edge of the morass, forms a crescent: as they reach the fatal spot, Highland caps rise up in the wood, and, under the command of Mackay and Sutherland, an attack is begun. The opposing grenadiers at first stood firm, and discharged volley after volley at an enemy whom the thicket concealed. But, as Oglethorpe hastened to the scene, he found the victory already complete, except as a Highland shout, or the yell of an Indian, announced the discovery of some straggling Spaniard. The enemy had retreated, with a loss of about two hundred men, leaving to the ground, which was now strown with the dead, the name of "the Bloody Marsh."

Despairing of success, and weakened by divisions, — deceived, too, by an ingenious stratagem, — the Spaniards, on the night of the fourteenth, reëmbarked, leaving a quantity of ammunition and guns behind them. On the eighteenth, on their way to the south, they renewed their attack on Fort William, which was bravely defended by Stuart and his little garrison of fifty men. The English boats watched the movements of the retreating squadron till it was south of the St. John's; and, on the twenty-fourth day of July, Oglethorpe could publish an order for a general thanksgiving for the end of the invasion.

Thus was Georgia colonized and defended; its frontiers were safe against inroads; and, though Florida still lingered under the jurisdiction of Spain, its limits were narrowed. To meet the complaints of the disaffected, in July, 1743, Oglethorpe, after a year of tranquillity, sailed for England, never again to behold the colony with which the disinterested toils of ten years had identified his fame. For the welfare of Georgia, he had renounced ease and the enjoyment of fortune, to scorn danger, and fare "much harder than any of

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James Ogleshorpe

the people that were settled there." Yet his virtues were the result of sentiment, not of reflection, and were colored by the prejudices of his nation — the hatred of Papists, the aversion to Spain. But the gentleness of his nature appeared in all his actions: he was merciful to the prisoner; a father to the emigrant; the unwavering friend of Wesley; the constant benefactor of the Moravians; honestly zealous for the conversion of the Indians; invoking for the negro the panoply of the gospel. He loved to relieve the indigent, to soothe the mourner; and his name became known as another expression for "vast benevolence of soul."

The life of Oglethorpe was prolonged beyond fourscore; and, even in the last year of it, he was extolled as "the finest figure" ever seen — the impersonation of venerable age; his faculties were still bright, and his eye was undimmed; but his legislation did not outlive his power. The system of tail male went gradually into oblivion; the importation of rum was no longer forbidden; slaves from Carolina were hired by the planter, first for a short period, then for life or a hundred years. Slavers from Africa sailed directly to Savannah, and the laws against them were not rigidly enforced. Whitefield, who believed that God's providence would certainly make slavery terminate for the advantage of the Africans, pleaded before the trustees in its favor, as essential to the prosperity of Georgia; even the poorest people earnestly desired the change. The Moravians still expressed regret, moved partly by a hatred of oppression, and partly by antipathy to the race of colored men. At last, they, too, began to think that negro slaves might be employed in a Christian spirit; and it was agreed that, if the negroes are treated in a Christian manner, their change of country would prove to them a benefit. A message from Germany served to hush their scruples. "If you take slaves in faith, and with the intent of conducting them to Christ, the action will not be a sin, but may prove a benediction."

CHAPTER LII.

WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

AFTER the departure of Oglethorpe, the southern colonies enjoyed repose; for the war for colonial commerce had become merged in a vast European struggle, involving the principles and the designs which had agitated the civilized world for centuries. In France, Fleury had adhered to the policy of peace, when, by the death of Charles VI., the extinction of the male line of the house of Hapsburg raised a question on the Austrian succession. The pragmatic sanction, to which France was a party, secured the whole Austrian dominions to Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI.; while, from an erudite genealogy or previous marriages, the sovereigns of Spain, of Saxony, and of Bavaria, each derived a claim to the undivided heritage. The interest of the French king, his political system, his faith, as pledged by a solemn treaty, the advice of his minister, demanded of him the recognition of the rights of Maria Theresa in their integrity; and yet, swayed by the intrigues of the Belle-Isles, and the hereditary hatred of Austria, without one decent pretext, he constituted himself the centre of an alliance against her. As England, by its arrogant encroachments on Spain, unconsciously enlarged the commercial freedom, or began the independence, of colonies; so France, by its unjustifiable war on Austria, floated from its moorings, and foretold the wreck of Catholic legitimacy.

In the great European contest, England, true to its policy of connecting itself with the second continental power, gave subsidies to Austria. The fleets of England and France meet in the Mediterranean; the fleet of England is victorious. France declares war against England also; and the little conflicts in America are

lost in the universal conflagration of Europe. Never did history present such a scene of confusion. Europe rocked like the ocean on the lulling of a long storm, when the opposite wind has just sprung up, throwing the heaving billows into tumultuous conflict.

The absence of purity in public life extinguished attachment to the administration, and left an opportunity to the Pretender to conquer Scotland, and advance to within four days' march of London. This invasion had no partisans in America, where the house of Hanover was respected as the representative of Protestantism. In England, where monarchy was established, the vices of the reigning family had produced disgust and indifference; but the friends of revolution did not look beyond a choice of dynasty. America was destined to choose, not between kings, but between forms of government.

On the continent France gained fruitless victories. Her flag waved over Prague only to be struck down by Austria. Saxony, Bavaria, her allies on the borders of Austria, one after another, abandoned her. The fields of blood at Fontenoy, at Raucoux, at Laffeldt, were barren of results; for the collision of armies was but an unmeaning collision of brute force, guided by selfishness. Statesmen scoffed at Virtue, and she avenged herself by bringing their counsels to nought.

One result, however, of which the character did not at first appear, was, during the conflict, achieved in the north. Protestantism was represented on the continent by no great power. Frederick II., a pupil of the philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolf, took advantage of the confusion, and, with the happy audacity of youth, and a discreet ambition, which knew where to set bounds to its own impetuosity, wrested Silesia from Austria. Indifferent to alliances with powers which, having no fixed aims, could have no fixed friendships, he entered into the contest, and withdrew from it, alone. Assuming arms in 1742, and again in 1745, and twice concluding a separate peace, he retired, with

a guaranty from England of the acquisitions which, aided by the power of opinion, constituted his monarchy the central point of political interest on the continent of Europe.

Nor was the war limited to Europe and European colonies: in the East Indies, where the empire of the Great Mogul lay in ruins, the commercial companies of France and England struggled for supremacy. The French company of the Indies, aided by the king, had confirmed its power at Pondicherry; and, as the Sorbonne had published to a credulous nation, that dividends on the stock of the commercial company would be usurious, and therefore a crime against religion, the corporation was unfortunate, though private merchants were gaining wealth in the Carnatic and on the Ganges. The brave mariner from St. Malo, the enterprising La Bourdonnais, from his government in the Isle of France, devised, in September, 1746, schemes of conquest. But the future was not foreseen; and, limited by instructions from the French ministers to make no acquisitions of territory whatever, though, with the aid of the governor of Pondicherry, he might have gained for France the entire ascendancy in Hindostan, he pledged his word of honor to restore Madras to the English, in the very hour when he proudly planted the flag of France on its fortress.

Russia, also, was invoked to take part in the contest, as the stipendiary of England. At an earlier period of the war, she had, in the opposite direction, drawn near our present borders. After the empire of the czars had been extended over Kamtschatka, Peter the Great had planned a voyage of discovery along the shores of Asia; and, in 1728, Behring demonstrated the insulation of that continent on the east. In 1741, the same intrepid navigator, sailing with two vessels from Ochotzk, discovered the narrow straits which divide the continents; caught glimpses of the mountains of North-West America; traced the line of the Aleutian archipelago; and, tossed by storms, in the midst of snows and ice,

fell a victim to fatigue on a desert island of the group which bears his name. The gallant Danish mariner did not know that he had seen America; though, through him, Russia, by right of discovery, thus gained the north-west of our continent.

While the states of Europe, by means of their wide relations, were fast forming the nations of the whole world into one political system, the few incidents of war in our America could obtain no interest. A proposition was brought forward by Coxe to form a union of all the colonies, for the purposes of defence; but danger was not so universal or so imminent, as to furnish a sufficient motive for a confederacy. The peace of the central provinces was unbroken. The strifes of the world, in opinion or in arms, did not disturb the scattered planters of Virginia.

The ownership of the west was still in dispute; and at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, the governor of that state, with commissioners from Maryland and from Virginia, met the deputies of the Iroquois, who, since the union with the Tuscaroras, became known as the Six Nations. "We conquered," said they, "the country of the Indians beyond the mountains: if the Virginians ever gain a good right to it, it must be by us." And, in July, 1744, for about four hundred pounds, the deputies of the Six Nations made "a deed recognizing the king's right to all the lands that are or shall be, by his majesty's appointment, in the colony of Virginia." The lands in Maryland were, in like manner, confirmed to Lord Baltimore, but with definite limits; the deed to Virginia extended the claim of that colony indefinitely in the west and north-west.

The events of the war of England with France were then detailed, and the conditions of the former treaties of alliance were called to mind. "The covenant chain between us and Pennsylvania," replied Canassatego, "is an ancient one, and has never contracted rust. We shall have all your country under our eye. Before we

came here, we told Onondio, there was room enough at sea to fight, where he might do what he pleased; but he should not come upon our land to do any damage to our brethren." After a pause, it was added, "The Six Nations have a great authority over the praying Indians, who stand in the very gates of the French: to show our further care, we have engaged these very Indians and other allies of the French; they have agreed with us they will not join against you." Then the chain of union was made as bright as the sun. The Virginians proposed to educate the children of the Iroquois at their public school. "Brother Assaragoa," they replied, "we must let you know we love our children too well to send them so great a way; and the Indians are not inclined to give their children learning. Your invitation is good, but our customs differ from yours." And then, acknowledging the rich gifts from the three provinces, they continued, as if aware of their doom — "We have provided a small present for you; but, alas! we are poor, and shall ever remain so, as long as there are so many Indian traders among us. Theirs and the white people's cattle eat up all the grass, and make deer scarce." And they presented three bundles of skins. At the close of the conference, the Indians gave, in their order, five *yo-hahs*; and the English agents, after a health to the king of England and the Six Nations, put an end to the assembly by three loud huzzas. Thus did Great Britain at once acquire and confirm its claims to the basin of the Ohio, and, at the same time, protect its northern frontier.

Yet the sense of danger led the Pennsylvanians, for the first time, to a military organization, effected in 1747, by a voluntary system. "The country raised above one hundred and twenty companies of militia, of which Philadelphia raised ten, of about a hundred men each." "The women were so zealous, that they furnished ten pairs of silk colors, wrought with various mottoes." "Benjamin Franklin was the prime actor in all this;"

elected to the command of a regiment, he declined the distinction, and, as an humble volunteer, "himself carried a musket among the common soldiers."

While the central provinces enjoyed tranquillity, in May, 1744, a body of French from Cape Breton, before the news of the declaration of war with France had been received in New England, surprised the little English garrison at Canseau; destroyed the fishery, the fort, and the other buildings there, and removed eighty men, as prisoners of war, to Louisburg. The fortifications of Annapolis, the only remaining defence of Nova Scotia, were in a state of ruin. An attack made upon it by Indians in the service of the French, accompanied by Le Loutre, their missionary, was with difficulty repelled. The inhabitants of the province, sixteen thousand in number, were of French origin; and a revolt of the people, with the aid of Indian allies, might have once more placed France in possession of its ancient colony. While William Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, foresaw the danger, and solicited aid from England, the officers and men taken at Canseau, after passing the summer in captivity at Louisburg, were sent to Boston on parole. They brought accurate accounts of the condition of that fortress; and Shirley resolved on an enterprise for its reduction. The fishermen, especially of Marblehead, interrupted in their pursuits by the war, disdained an idle summer, and entered readily into the design. The legislature of Massachusetts, in January, 1745, resolved on the expedition by a majority of one vote. Solicited to render assistance, New York sent a small supply of artillery, and Pennsylvania of provisions; New England alone furnished men; of whom Connecticut raised five hundred and sixteen; New Hampshire—to whose troops Whitefield gave, as Charles Wesley had done to Oglethorpe, the motto, "Nothing is to be despaired of, with Christ for the leader"—contributed a detachment of three hundred and four; while the forces levied for the occasion by Massachusetts exceeded three thousand vol-

unteers. Three hundred men sailed from Rhode Island, but too late for active service. Of Commodore Warren at Antigua, an express-boat requested the coöperation with such ships as could be spared from the Leeward Islands; but, on a consultation with the captains of his squadron, it was unanimously resolved by them, in the absence of directions from England, not to engage in the scheme.

Thus, then, relying on themselves, the volunteers of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, with a merchant, William Pepperell, of Maine, for their chief commander, in April, 1745, met at Canseau. The inventive genius of New England had been aroused; one proposed a model of a flying bridge, to scale the walls even before a breach should be made; another was ready with a caution against mines; a third, who was a minister, presented to the merchant general, ignorant of war, a plan for encamping the army, opening trenches, and placing batteries. The expedition itself was composed of fishermen, who, in time of war, could no longer use the hook and line on the Grand Bank, but, with prudent forethought, took with them their codlines; of mechanics, skilled from childhood in the use of the gun; of lumberers inured to fatigue and encampments in the woods; of husbandmen from the interior, who had grown up with arms in their hands, accustomed to danger, keenest marksmen, disciplined in the pursuit of larger and smaller game; all volunteers; all commanded by officers from among themselves; many of them church-members; almost all having wives and children. As the ice of Cape Breton was drifting in such heaps that a vessel could not enter its harbors, the New England fleet was detained many days at Canseau, — when, on the twenty-third of April, the squadron of Commodore Warren happily arrived. Hardly had his council at Antigua declined the enterprise, when instructions from England bade him render every aid to Massachusetts; and, learning at sea the embarkation of the troops, he sailed directly to Canseau. The

next day arrived nine vessels from Connecticut, with the forces from that colony, in high spirits and good health.

On the last day of April, an hour after sunrise, the armament, in a hundred vessels of New England, entering the Bay of Chapeaurouge, or Gabarus, as the English called it, came in sight of Louisburg. Its walls, raised on a neck of land on the south side of the harbor, forty feet thick at the base, and from twenty to thirty feet high, all swept from the bastions, surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide, were furnished with one hundred and one cannon, seventy-six swivels, and six mortars: its garrison was composed of more than sixteen hundred men; the harbor was defended by an island battery of thirty twenty-two pounders, and by the royal battery on the shore, having thirty large cannon, a moat and bastions, all so perfect that it was thought two hundred men could have defended it against five thousand. On the other hand, the New England forces had but eighteen cannon and three mortars; but no sooner did they come in sight of the city, than, letting down the whale-boats, "they flew to shore, like eagles to the quarry." The French, that came down to prevent the landing, were put to flight, and driven into the woods. On the first day of May, a detachment of four hundred men, led by William Vaughan, a volunteer from New Hampshire, marched by the city, which it greeted with three cheers, and took post near the north-east harbor. The French who held the royal battery, struck with panic, spiked its guns, and abandoned it in the night. In the morning, boats from the city came to recover it; but Vaughan and thirteen men, standing on the beach, kept them from landing till a reinforcement arrived. To a major in one of the regiments of Massachusetts, Seth Pomroy, from Northampton, a gunsmith, was assigned the oversight of above twenty smiths in drilling the cannon, which were little injured; and the fire from the city and the island battery was soon returned. "Louisburg," wrote Pomroy to his family, "is an exceedingly strong place, and seems impregnable. It looks as if our campaign would last long;

but I am willing to stay till God's time comes to deliver the city into our hands." "Suffer no anxious thought to rest in your mind about me," replied his wife, from the bosom of New England. "The whole town is much engaged with concern for the expedition, how Providence will order the affair, for which religious meetings every week are maintained. I leave you in the hand of God."

The troops made a jest of technical military terms; they laughed at proposals for zigzags and epaulements. The light of nature, however, taught them to erect fascine batteries at the west and south-west of the city. Of these the most effective was commanded by Tidcomb, whose readiness to engage in hazardous enterprises was justly applauded. As it was necessary, for the purposes of attack, to drag the cannon over boggy morasses, impassable for wheels, Meserve, a New Hampshire colonel, who was a carpenter, constructed sledges; and on these the men, with straps over their shoulders, sinking to their knees in mud, drew them safely over. Thus the siege proceeded in a random manner. The men knew little of strict discipline; they had no fixed encampment; destitute of tents to keep off the fogs and dews, their lodgings were turf and brush houses; their bed was the earth—dangerous resting-place for those of the people "unacquainted with lying in the woods." Yet the weather was fair; and the atmosphere, usually thick with palpable fogs, was, during the whole siege, singularly dry. All day long, the men, if not on duty, were busy with amusements,—firing at marks, fishing, fowling, wrestling, racing, or running after balls shot from the enemy's guns. The feebleness of the garrison, which had only six hundred regular soldiers, with about a thousand Breton militia, prevented sallies; the hunting-parties, as vigilant for the trail of an enemy as for game, rendered a surprise by land impossible; while the fleet of Admiral Warren guarded the approaches by sea.

Four or five attempts to take the island battery, which commanded the entrance to the harbor, had failed. The

failure is talked of among the troops; a party of volunteers, after the fashion of Indian expeditions, under a chief of their own election, enlist for a vigorous attack on the night of the twenty-sixth of May; "but now Providence seemed remarkably to frown upon the affair." The assailants are discovered; a murderous fire strikes their boats before they land; only a part of them reach the island; a severe contest for near an hour ensues; those who can reach the boats escape, with the loss of sixty killed, and one hundred and sixteen taken prisoners.

To annoy the island battery, the Americans, under the direction of Gridley of Boston, with persevering toil, erect a battery near the north cape of the harbor, on the Light-House Cliff; while, within two hundred yards of the city, trenches had been thrown up near an advanced post, which, with guns from the royal battery, played upon the north-west gate of Louisburg.

Still no breach had been effected, while the labors of the garrison were making the fortifications stronger than ever. The expedition must be abandoned, or the walls of the city scaled. The naval officers, who had been joined by several ships-of-war, ordered from England on the service, agree to sail into the harbor, and bombard the city, while the land forces are to attempt to enter the fortress by storm. But, strong as were the works, the garrison was discontented, and Duchambon, their commander, ignorant of his duties. The *Vigilant*, a French ship of sixty-four guns, laden with military stores for his supply, was decoyed by Douglas, of the *Mermaid*, into the English fleet, and, on the fifteenth of June, after an engagement of some hours, was taken, in sight of the besieged town. The next day the desponding governor sent out a flag of truce; terms of capitulation were accepted; on the seventeenth of June, the city, the fort, the batteries, were surrendered. As the troops, entering the fortress, beheld the strength of the place, their hearts, for the first time, sunk within them. "God has gone out of the way of his common providence," said they,

“in a remarkable and almost miraculous manner, to incline the hearts of the French to give up, and deliver this strong city into our hands.” When the news of success reached Boston, the bells of the town were rung merrily, and all the people were in transports of joy. Thus did the strongest fortress of North America capitulate to an army of undisciplined New England mechanics, and farmers, and fishermen. It was the greatest success achieved by England during the war.

The capture of Louisburg seemed to threaten a transfer of the scene of earnest hostilities to America. France planned its recovery, and the desolation of the English colonies; but, in 1746, the large fleet from France, under the command of the duke d’Anville, wasted by storms and shipwrecks, and pestilential disease, — enfeebled by the sudden death of its commander, and the delirium and suicide of his successor, — did not even attack Annapolis. In the next year, the French fleet, with troops destined for Canada and Nova Scotia, was encountered by Anson and Warren; and all its intrepidity could not save it from striking its colors. The American colonies suffered only on the frontier. Fort Massachusetts, in Williamstown, the post nearest to Crown Point, having but twenty-two men for its garrison, capitulated to a large body of French and Indians. In the wars of Queen Anne, Deerfield and Haverhill were the scenes of massacre. It marks the progress of settlements, that danger was now repelled from Concord, on the Merrimac, and from the town-ship now called Charlestown, on the Connecticut.

Repairing to Louisburg, Shirley, with Warren, had concerted a project for reducing all Canada; and the duke of Newcastle replied to their proposals by directing preparations for the conquest. The colonies north of Virginia voted to raise more than eight thousand men; but no fleet arrived from England; and the French were not even driven from their posts in Nova Scotia. The summer of the next year passed in that inactivity which attends the expectation of peace; and

in September, the provincial army, by direction of the duke of Newcastle, was disbanded. Men believed that England, from motives of policy, had not desired success. "There is reason enough for doubting whether the king, if he had the power, would wish to drive the French from their possessions in Canada." Such was public opinion at New York, in 1748, as preserved for us by the Swedish traveller Peter Kalm. "The English colonies in this part of the world," he continues, "have increased so much in wealth and population, that they will vie with European England. But to maintain the commerce and the power of the metropolis, they are forbid to establish new manufactures, which might compete with the English; they may dig for gold and silver only on condition of shipping them immediately to England; they have, with the exception of a few fixed places, no liberty to trade to any parts not belonging to the English dominions; and foreigners are not allowed the least commerce with these American colonies. And there are many similar restrictions. These oppressions have made the inhabitants of the English colonies less tender towards their mother land. This coldness is increased by the many foreigners who are settled among them; for Dutch, Germans, and French, are here blended with English, and have no special love for Old England. Besides, some people are always discontented, and love change; and exceeding freedom and prosperity nurse an untamable spirit. I have been told, not only by native Americans, but by English emigrants, publicly, that, within thirty or fifty years, the English colonies in North America may constitute a separate state, entirely independent of England. But, as this whole country is towards the sea unguarded, and on the frontier is kept uneasy by the French, these dangerous neighbors are the reason why the love of these colonies for their metropolis does not utterly decline. The English government has therefore reason to regard the French in North America as the chief power that urges their colonies to submission."

The Swede heard but the truth, though that truth lay concealed from British statesmen. Even during the war, the jealous spirit of resistance to tyranny was once kindled into a fury at Boston. Sir Charles Knowles, the British naval commander, whom Smollett is thought to have described justly as "an officer without resolution, and a man without veracity," having been deserted by some of his crew, while lying off Nantasket, early one morning, sent his boats up to Boston, and impressed seamen from vessels, mechanics and laborers from the wharves. "Such a surprise could not be borne here," wrote Hutchinson, who was present; and he assigns, as the reason of impatience, that "the people had not been used to it." "Men would not be contented with fair promises from the governor;" "the seizure and restraint of the commanders and other officers who were in town, were insisted upon, as the only effectual method to procure the release of the inhabitants aboard the ships." And "the mob" executed what the governor declined. At last, after three days of rage and resentment, through the mediation of the house of representatives, order was restored. The officers were liberated from their irregular imprisonment; and, in return, most, if not all, of the impressed citizens of Boston were dismissed from the English fleet.

The alliance of Austria with Russia hastened negotiations for the pacification of Europe; and a congress convened at Aix la Chapelle to restore tranquillity to the civilized world. As between England and Spain, and between France and England, after eight years of reciprocal annoyance, after an immense accumulation of national debt, the condition of peace was the state of possession before the war. Nothing was gained. Humanity had suffered, without a purpose, and without a result. In the colonial world, Madras was restored for Cape Breton; the boundaries between the British and the French provinces in America were left unsettled, neither party acknowledging the right of the other to

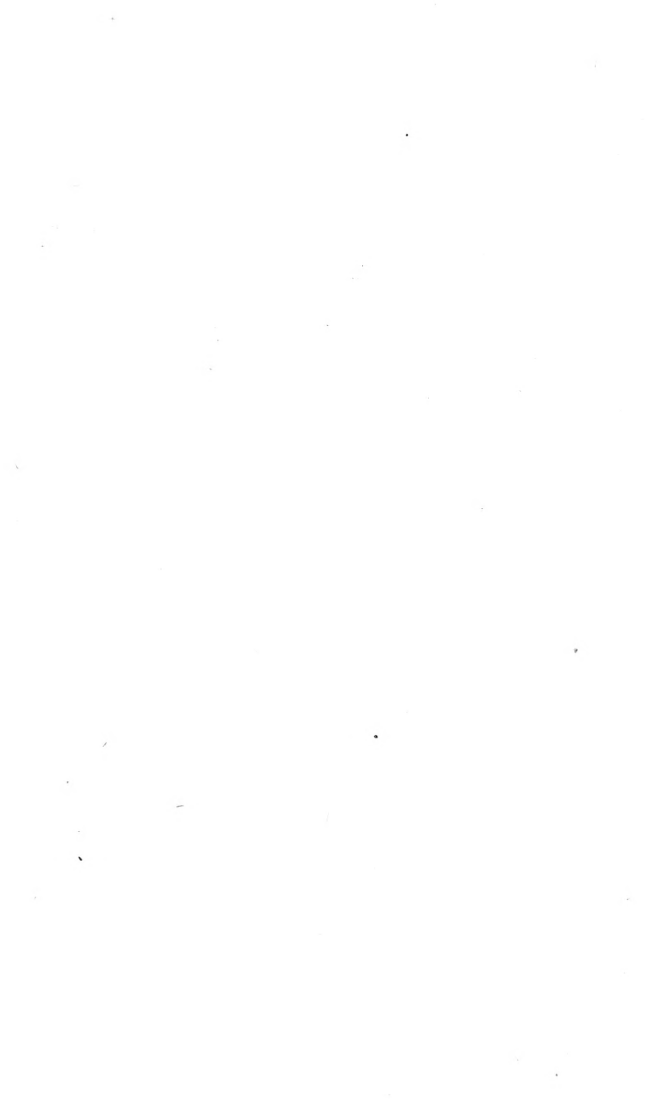
the basin of the Penobscot or of the Ohio ; the frontier of Florida was not traced. Neither did Spain relinquish the right of searching English vessels suspected of smuggling ; and, though it was agreed that the asiento treaty should continue for four years more, the right was soon abandoned, under a new convention, for an inconsiderable pecuniary indemnity. Of higher questions, in which the interests of civilization were involved, not one was adjusted. To the balance of power, sustained by standing armies of a million of men, the statesmen of that day intrusted the preservation of tranquillity, and, ignorant of the might of principles to mould the relations of states, saw in Austria the certain ally of England, in France the natural ally of Prussia.

Thus, after long years of strife, of repose, and of strife renewed, England and France solemnly agreed to be at peace. The treaties of Aix la Chapelle had been negotiated, by the ablest statesmen of Europe, in the splendid forms of monarchical diplomacy. They believed themselves the arbiters of mankind, the pacificators of the world,—reconstructing the colonial system on a basis which should endure for ages,—confirming the peace of Europe by the nice adjustment of material forces. At the very time of the congress of Aix la Chapelle, the woods of Virginia sheltered the youthful George Washington. Born by the side of the Potomac, beneath the roof of a Westmoreland farmer, almost from infancy his lot had been the lot of an orphan. No academy had welcomed him to its shades, no college crowned him with its honors : to read, to write, to cipher—these had been his degrees in knowledge. And now, at sixteen years of age, in quest of an honest maintenance, encountering intolerable toil ; cheered onward by being able to write to a schoolboy friend, “ Dear Richard, a doubloon is my constant gain every day, and sometimes six pistoles ; ” “ himself his own cook, having no spit but a forked stick, no plate but a large chip ; ” roaming over spurs of the

Alleghanies, and along the banks of the Shenandoah ; alive to nature, and sometimes “ spending the best of the day in admiring the trees and richness of the land ; ” among skin-clad savages, with their scalps and rattles, or uncouth emigrants, “ that would never speak English ; ” rarely sleeping in a bed ; holding a bearskin a splendid couch ; glad of a resting-place for the night upon a little hay, straw, or fodder, and often camping in the forests, where the place nearest the fire was a happy luxury ; — this stripling surveyor in the woods, with no companion but his unlettered associates, and no implements of science but his compass and chain, contrasted strangely with the imperial magnificence of the congress of Aix la Chapelle. And yet God had selected, not Kaunitz, nor Newcastle, not a monarch of the house of Hapsburg, nor of Hanover, but the Virginia stripling, to give an impulse to human affairs, and, as far as events can depend on an individual, had placed the rights and the destinies of countless millions in the keeping of the widow’s son.

END OF HISTORY OF COLONIZATION.

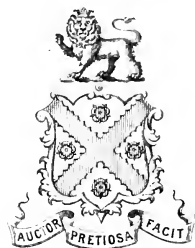




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